

The Nation.

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JOSEPH H. RICHARDS, PUBLISHER, 130 NASSAU STREET, N. Y.

The Week.

THE chief sensation of the week has been disaster by land and flood. On Monday, the 21st, a train on the Chicago and North-western Railway ran at night into a culvert washed away by a storm. On Tuesday, a train was thrown from the track of the Shore Line Railroad, Connecticut, by running over a cow. On Wednesday, there was an accident on the Oil Creek Road, Pennsylvania, and another on the Old Colony Road, Massachusetts—the results of culpable carelessness and misconduct. On Friday, a train on the Alabama and Tennessee Railroad ran off the trestle-work of a bridge. All these involved the destruction of at least twenty persons, and the maiming of more than a hundred others. A collision on the Chesapeake drowns one person and injures two, while an explosion on the Ohio causes the death of twelve and the scalding of eight. Lastly, we hear of the total loss of the steamer *Brother Jonathan*, on the Pacific coast, on the 30th of last month, in which but seventeen lives were saved out of two or three hundred. Among those who went down were Brig.-Gen. Wright and his family. He was on his way to Fort Vancouver, to take command of the Department of the Columbia.

AN important organization was effected in this city on Friday. Representatives of the principal Freedmen's Associations, East and West, met together and formed the "American Freedmen's Commission," with the following list of officers: Bishop Simpson, President; Wm. Lloyd Garrison and John V. Farwell, Vice-Presidents; Fred. Law Olmsted, General Secretary; Jacob R. Shipherd, Associate Secretary; and George C. Ward, Treasurer; which officers, with J. Miller McKim and J. M. Walden, Corresponding Secretaries of the Eastern and Western Departments, will constitute the Board of Managers. Other prominent and representative names embraced in this new Association are Francis George Shaw and Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of this city; Stephen Colwell and Francis R. Cope, of Philadelphia; Judge Bond and Archibald Stirling, Jr., of Baltimore; C. G. Hussey and Dr. Howard, of Pittsburg; Adam Poe and Abraham M. Taylor, of Cincinnati; Dr. Newberry, of Cleveland; Dr. Patterson, of Chicago; Dr. Duffield, of Detroit; Calvert Fletcher and Robert Morrison, of Indiana; James E. Yeatman and Dr. Elliott, of St. Louis; Judge Russell and Rev. John Parkman, of Boston; John G. Whittier, of Amesbury; Postmaster Bowen, of Washington, etc., etc. This Commission completes the unity, so long desired, of the various philanthropic combinations which,

under whatever name, have the welfare of the freedmen at heart. It will work in harmonious co-operation with the Bureau at Washington, to which it will bring no small measure of strength and public support. It is another guaranty that the revolution of to-day shall go forward and not backward, nor cease till the rights of man are acknowledged in every citizen of this Republic.

THE Mississippi Convention finished its business and adjourned on Thursday the 24th. It declared the ordinance of secession null and void. It prohibited, by a constitutional amendment, the revival of slavery, by a vote of 86 to 11. It ratified the proceedings of the courts, the sales of administrators, and all marriages since January, 1861. It fixed upon the first Monday in October as the day for the State and Congressional elections. Judge E. S. Fisher was nominated for Governor. The delegates, in their unofficial capacity, drew up a memorial to the President asking for the pardon of the two State offenders, Jefferson Davis and Governor Clark. The convention received a telegraphic dispatch from the President through Governor Sharkey, congratulating them upon their action, and the prospects of Mississippi's re-admission into the Union, and promising the restoration of the *habeas corpus* and the removal of the troops as soon as practicable.

A CORRESPONDENT calls our attention to the fact that a petition was presented to the Senate in February of this year, by Senator Morgan of this State, praying for the passage by Congress of a "General Election Law" regulating the suffrage in all the States, in the manner indicated by "T. F." in the last number of THE NATION, and in virtue of the power claimed by him under the Constitution for the national legislature.

THE Kentucky Court of Appeals have reversed a decision of the Louisville Chancery Court, by which the appellant was required to accept Treasury notes in discharge of his contract for money. Judge Williams dissented, but the majority held the act of Congress of Feb. 25, 1862, to be unconstitutional in so far as it made these notes "lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, in the United States." Judge Robertson summed up his conclusions in two propositions: that the people, on adopting the national Constitution, emphatically and aforethought "established gold and silver coin as the money, and the only legal money, of the United States;" and that, to secure this deliberate object, "they determined that no legislation, State or national, should ever make anything else a legal tender for money, demandable on any contract made between citizens under the sanction of State laws." He added, as a necessary corollary, "that all power not expressly delegated over money is constructively *forbidden*," and that, therefore, "there can be no implied power to make Treasury notes a legal tender in private contracts."

THE trial of Wirtz, which was commenced on Monday the 21st, then suddenly interrupted, and resumed on Wednesday, promises to drag its slow length along like the Assassination trial, which it will probably resemble, in evoking a great deal of testimony more pertinent to the general character of the rebellion than to the charges against the prisoner. Wirtz is beyond question a villain, but then a regard for decency ought to restrain people from pelting him with rotten eggs as he sits in the pillory. The following delectable morsel is from a correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* :—

"Yet the central figure in the room is, after all, this Swiss-American, Henry Wirtz, whom God probably made, and yet whom no man thinks

of as brother. Is there family relationship among fiends? Let us be thankful that this one can claim neither American birth nor education; let us mourn that our sister republic of Switzerland must own his parentage. Wirtz came in with a quick step and a slightly embarrassed manner. He is about five feet eight in height, and of about 135 pounds weight. He wears a black coat, dark vest, dark brown pants, with reddish tinge, and white shirt. His appearance is slovenly, and he is round-shouldered and stooping. His head is high over the ears, wanting in the rear, and deficient in the upper forehead. His hair is dark brown, and he begins to be bald in front. He has full whiskers and moustache, cut to about half an inch in length. He is thin of face, dark of skin, bloodless of lips, dark and very keen of eye. His nose is thin and sharp, his mouth straight and inelegant. There isn't much of the original villain in his appearance, though he looks like a man utterly without conscience, and ready to do, for a consideration, almost any infernal deed set for him by a superior."

The expression of doubt as to God's having made Wirtz is doubtless intended to be a crusher for Wirtz, but it is in reality not so hard upon anybody as on the person who utters it. And we should like to know from this acute observer how he tells, by a man's looks, that he would not do "an infernal deed for a superior" without a consideration, or that he would not do it with a consideration for an inferior or an equal. This stuff, too, is called a "pen picture."

THE war between the New York daily papers on the subject of the City census still rages with unwonted violence. The census just taken makes the population only a little smaller than in 1860, when taken by that model of democratic virtue, "Captain Rynders." The Republicans say that he cheated; the Democrats say he did not, and that it is Chauncey Depew, the present Secretary of State, who is now cheating. The probabilities are that a part of the apparently slow growth of population in the last five years is due to the tenderness of Rynders for the Democratic majorities, which the city always gives; and part to the real and steady exodus to the country which has long been going on. The fact is, and there is no denying it, that taxation and bad government have begun to tell in New York already. If no reform take place, there is nothing so very improbable in the supposition that the next ten years may witness a gradual transfer of business to some better regulated port further South. If the municipal net could be thrown over all the people who live elsewhere, and do business here, the local burdens would be considerably lightened, but then the "citizens" who might be caught in this way would only fly further off.

THERE was substantial agreement between the resolutions passed at Harrisburg by the Pennsylvania Democratic Convention, on Thursday last, and those of the Ohio Democratic Convention on the same day at Columbus. Both affirmed, as a logical deduction from the nullity of secession ordinances, that the late rebellious States are fast in the Union, and have all the rights which formerly belonged to them. Negro suffrage was equally condemned—at Harrisburg as "a high crime against the Constitution, and a deliberate and wicked attempt to degrade the white race to the level of the black." Here, also, negro equality was pronounced a "curse." For the rest, there were the usual charges of the war, and the debt, and illegal, unconstitutional procedure, and the usual harping on *habeas corpus* suspended and military trials established; and, after all, an effort to tack the party to the skirts of the President. Col. W. H. H. Davis was the Pennsylvania nominee for auditor-general; Gen. Geo. W. Morgan, the Ohio nominee for governor.

MR. MARETZEK has written a "second letter" to the editor of the *Herald*. We have not seen the first, and we suppose the recipient would wish he had seen neither. The present epistle is in answer to a threat on the part of the *Herald* to withdraw its "subvention" from the coming opera. The lively manager hastens to return thanks and estimate his losses. He reckons that the *Herald's* private proscenium box, and ten reserved seats of the very best, and extra seats and admissions, if paid for, would amount in a single season to \$3,200; that the advertising and printing, done at double the usual rates at the *Herald* establishment, cost \$7,500; and that black-mail to reporters, etc., borrowed and unreturned wardrobes, compulsory employment of useless persons, extra advertisements in the *Play Bill*, etc., take \$3,000 more

from the manager's pockets. Other features of the "subvention" are various interferences of the *Herald* with the affairs of the opera, even to dictating what artists shall be engaged, and what plays performed. So that altogether the threatened withdrawal will save Mr. Maretzek some \$20,000, or more than the entire rent of the Academy of Music. No doubt this exposé is as truthful as it is scathing; yet while quite ready to regard the *Herald* as the chief sinner in this business, the skirts of the rest of the daily press are by no means clear, and it is not too much to say that the system of reciprocal favors which now exists makes genuine theatrical criticism impossible among those to whom the public looks for it.

THE trial of Charles J. Colchester, a so-called spiritual medium, at Buffalo, terminated on the 23d in a verdict of guilty. He was prosecuted for neglecting to take out a license under the internal revenue law as a juggler, which he refused to do, on the ground that his spirit performances were not juggling. The testimony was neither so interesting nor so conclusive, one way or the other, as might have been expected. There were damaging charges of deception and fraud against the defendant, but the attempts to explain and counterfeit in open court his most remarkable feats—such as the blood-red writing on the arm—were failures. What Colchester did instantaneously could not be produced by the competing "magician" under several minutes, nor would the latter undertake to cross-write at all. It is to be regretted that the defendant was not permitted or called upon to show, if he could, the distinction between the two operations, in which the whole question of supernaturalism is involved; just as, that a table should be moved is no extraordinary matter, unless we see it stirring *suo motu* to all appearance. The counsel of Mr. Colchester applied for time to present certain points of law. Judge Edmonds, the well-known spiritualist, has expressed, in a published letter, his distrust of Colchester's integrity, and condemns his practice of earning money by his manifestations.

THE name of Major George Ward Nichols was badly misprinted in our notice of his book, "The Story of the Great March," last week.

ONE of the trustees of the colored schools in Washington is said to have demanded of the Mayor the portion of the school fund assigned by act of Congress to the education of the colored people of the District. Of course the money was not forthcoming. Campbell Hospital, one of the finest in the city, has been taken possession of by the Freedmen's Bureau. It will accommodate a large number of freedmen, and will prevent much suffering during the coming winter. The Government buildings at Vienna, and the Seminary hospital at Fairfax, Virginia, have been appropriated as centres for freedmen's villages. The approach of winter is regarded with great apprehension by the residents of Prince George County, which was widely devastated by our army. Captain Flagg, superintendent of the First District of Virginia, has received an application from fourteen hundred colored families who wish to purchase with ready money a tract of arable land in Virginia to dwell upon and cultivate. They prefer, for complete security, to make their purchase of the Government or through its agency. It would be pleasant to believe that the pro-slavery spirit in North Carolina is not so black as it is painted, and sometimes there seems to be a set purpose to decry, as during the rebellion there was to extol, the loyalty of the State. Be that as it may, the record is dark without relief. Fayetteville is now most prominent for its hostility to the freed people and their cause. Colored men have been tied up and publicly whipped by the sheriff, at the direction of a magistrate, and the citizens appear to have been exercising the usual prerogatives of slaveholders, including murder. It is needless to add that all this was consequent upon the withdrawal of the military. The mayor of the city has endeavored to deny the truth of these reports, but he makes a liberal exception for "practices of necessary control and discipline." There is no doubt that as one approaches the South Carolina border, the treatment of the blacks grows worse, and that their condition as yet differs little from slavery. Instances occur of a continuance of the old régime by individual slaveholders, far enough removed from the military authorities to preserve by main force their patriarchal system.

Others dismiss their hands unpaid as soon as the crops are secured. Gen. Saxton has issued a lengthy order on the subject of marriage among the freedmen. Some of the complications which slavery creates are revealed by such instructions as the following: If a man, without a wife, finds two wives restored to him by freedom, he shall, other things being equal, prefer the one by whom he has had children. A man living with a wife without issue may, with her consent, leave her for a previous wife by whom he has had children who are still minors, provided she has no other husband known to be living. In many parts of Georgia, particularly around Atlanta, the contract system is adopted very indefinitely, or violence is resorted to to maintain the *status quo ante bellum*. The planters are even said to be organizing for this purpose. Gen. Wild had ordered Mrs. Robert Toombs to vacate her premises in Washington, Georgia, in order to its occupation by the Freedmen's Bureau, but the order was countermanded by Gen. Steadman. General Swayne, assistant commissioner in Alabama, is making the judicial officers under the provisional government his legally constituted agents to assist in the care of the freedmen. Governor Parsons is said to be co-operating personally and by circulars of instruction. Gen. Fisk is on a tour of inspection in his department, in pursuance of orders from Washington. Captain Sweeney, superintendent of the district of Eastern Arkansas, reports that during the month of July rations were drawn only by orphans, the sick in hospital, and the employees of the Bureau. Great numbers of refugees are returning to their homes, and the citizens are reconciling themselves to the new order of things, and making contracts with their former slaves. We cannot better conclude this summary than by quoting entire the letter of a Louisiana planter to the Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans, dated Iberville Parish, Aug. 1:

"Gentlemen: I am a planter of twelve years' experience; this year I am working twelve hands, six men and six women; my laborers are to get one fourth of the net proceeds of the crops. They have a full understanding of their interest in the said crops. Our contract was made on the 1st of February last, and the result so far is a complete success; we have, to-day, 85 arpents of cotton; 25 arpents of sugar canes; 75 arpents of corn, all in perfect condition. I don't mention the vegetable crops. Under the old system ten arpents to the hand was considered a fair result, and more than three-fourths of the plantations failed to come to that standard.

"My laborers are all good people, behaving well, having good common sense; they are honest and true to their families. Besides the crop in common, they have raised for their private account small crops of corn and vegetables, and have poultry, etc., of their own. Not a single difficulty has occurred among them since they have agreed to work on my farm."

GEN. BANKS returns to private life, along with six other Major-Generals of Volunteers and a host of Brevet Major-Generals, more or less distinguished, according to an order of the Secretary of War on Thursday last, which musters them out of the service.

It is a poor rule that will not work both ways. The Lynchburg *Republican*, taking alarm at the colored conventions in Virginia and elsewhere, pronounces all similar organizations to effect a radical change in the present political or social status of the blacks to be "fraught with the most dangerous consequences" to them. The argument which it employs could easily be turned to the disfranchisement of the chivalry, by a simple substitution:

"There can be but one dominant race under any government; and when that is in doubt, the force of arms invariably decides the issue, and proclaims the stronger party. It is clearly, therefore, the part of wisdom for our colored population to be satisfied with their present status, and to make the most of their newly acquired advantages, instead of reaching after impossible results. For just so certain as they undertake to form a distinctive power in the State, just so certain will they be overwhelmed in disaster and ruin."

The negroes have no wish "to form a distinctive power in the State," as they will be compelled to do if divorced at the polls from their loyal white fellow-citizens. The bestowal of suffrage would take away the necessity of combinations according to color and race, by making the test of parties irrespective of these accidents. But the *Republican* expresses frankly the prevailing notion of the Southern mind in regard to the meaning of emancipation—one class uppermost and "dominant" as be-

fore, the other submissive and subordinate. This relation may not be denominated slavery, but it is evidently not the same as liberty.

A CORRESPONDENT of the London *Times*, writing from Saratoga, happened to allude to the incredible and infamous treatment which Northern captured soldiers received in Southern prisons. Whereupon, Arthur Freemantle, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Coldstream Guards, writes to that paper to deny the fact and especially to shield Mr. Davis from implication in it. His merits as a witness may be summed up in his statement that he travelled through the entire Southern States at the height of the war and never saw any inhuman treatment of Northern captives. He cites the evidence of the *Times'* correspondent in Richmond concerning the charges against the Libby. He heard General Lee regret, after Gettysburg, the necessity of marching several thousand Federal prisoners back to the rebel capital, because no exchange could be effected. Mr. Davis, too, would have been glad to strike a balance at any time between the prisoners held by the two contending parties, but it is notorious that all objections to exchange prisoners came from the North, not from the South. The public have just been enlightened anew on this whole subject by a letter from Gen. Hitchcock, who shows that the first disturbance of the regularity of exchange was caused by Davis himself, when, in a message to the rebel Congress, he informed that body that Union officers who might be captured while serving with colored troops should be delivered over to the State authorities, to be dealt with under State laws as if guilty of exciting servile insurrection. The colored soldiers themselves were to be disposed of in the same way, and in nowise to be considered in the category of prisoners to be exchanged. President Lincoln at once provided for the safety of the officers thus exposed by holding certain Confederates in our hands as hostages. Then the cartel began to be violated by the Confederate government. At the same time, and most conspicuously at Gettysburg, the practice was inaugurated of making prisoners of Northern citizens, and refusing to release them unless the United States would agree to make no arrests because of opinions favorable to the rebel cause, or avowed sympathy with it. This preposterous demand of course could not be tolerated, however Lee might grieve at being burdened with the inoffensive inhabitants of Pennsylvania; yet it was persisted in to the close of hostilities. This is the whole story; and there can be no doubt that the atrocious cruelty which began to be indulged from the summer of 1863 in Southern prisons and stockades was a deliberate measure for compelling submission to simply impossible terms. Gen. Hitchcock certifies to the exertions of Secretary Stanton to relieve the suffering of the victims, and to the barbarous bad faith of the Southern authorities on receiving supplies from the Federal Government for distribution. Capt. Freemantle thinks there may have been hardships at Andersonville, but attributes them to the poverty and insufficient means of the Confederacy. The excuse is a false one, but it does not explain the waste and speculation of Northern bounty before the very eyes of those for whom it was intended. Nor is truth to be impeached by styling well-authenticated pictures "disgusting sensational photographs—a novel and horrid manner of raising public feeling against the South."

THE utility of the Freedmen's Courts is already apparent. They show which party to the contracts now making is least to be trusted. For example, in Tennessee a citizen of Giles County, named Abernethy, refused to pay his colored laborers the wages agreed upon. Two of them went before the court and took oath to this breach of faith. Abernethy was summoned straightway to General Fisk. He was told that two fellow-citizens and neighbors of his had appeared against him, and was not a little chagrined on learning that they were, as he styled them, his "niggahs." Being corrected on the point of ownership, and reminded, moreover, that one of the complainants was probably his own son, the old gentleman surrendered, and promised to discharge his debt next day; which he did, and then entered into a written contract with his employees. In this and numerous similar instances, no redress could have been had in any State court under the existing State laws.

A MILITARY commission, ordered at Salisbury, North Carolina, by Gen. Schofield, has half a dozen murder cases to dispose of. Five of

these are the deliberate shooting of negroes by white men. The sixth, which was first on the docket, and has been tried, was also a case of shooting, but the victim was a colored woman, Galina, and the murderer the daughter of her former mistress. Temperance Neely is the name of the person who could not restrain herself from committing this bloody act. The facts as elicited beyond dispute are these: Galina was rescuing her child from punishment at the hands of Mrs. Providence Neely, and had pushed her late mistress down in the act. "Miss Tempe," who had warned her not to enter the house, being disregarded, shot her in the breast deliberately as she came out. Sentence has not yet been passed upon the guilty woman.

We commend to General Cox the action of the colored people who were settled, after the rebels burnt Hampton, Virginia, on the abandoned and confiscated lots within the town, and the farms of Messrs. Sinclair and Shields near by, also deserted, and also appropriated by Government—together amounting to 1,000 acres. These colonists have just taken a census of themselves. They consist of 800 families, or 4,500 souls; 587 can read and write, and 915 are church members. They estimate their own (not the Government's) property at \$51,000, and of their wealthy men two are worth \$4,000 each, one \$2,000, one \$1,500, and nine more than \$500 and less than \$1,500. About a fourth of the population is in the town, and the chief pursuit is agriculture. They have built five churches since the rebellion, and pay their pastors a salary of \$1,050. They have a general store of their own in Hampton, stocked by themselves, and an association for the benefit of the colored people. They boast that the farms of Sinclair and Shields will yield this year both richer and larger crops than when under the best slave cultivation. They are now annoyed by the former proprietors, who threaten to dispossess them, and are endeavoring to undo the workings of the Confiscation Act. This the colored people are by no means disposed to submit to. They have resolved in open meeting that they will not leave their "happy homes unless compelled to do so by legal authority;" that they will lease or purchase their lands of the United States; that they will resist the claims of Sinclair and Shields before the highest tribunal. Accordingly, they have employed Mr. Calvin Pepper, of Norfolk, to act as their attorney, and if justice depends for its execution upon the longest purse, we imagine this thrifty community will carry the day against their disloyal adversaries. That they refuse to budge is the point to be heeded by the Ohio candidate for governor.

THE yearning for immigration to people and restore the waste places is already visible at the South, along with the first ripples of the flood that is sure to set in ere long. Governor Brownlow has prepared a circular of invitation, in which the resources of Tennessee as an agricultural and mineral State are enumerated. Eastern Maryland points to her "geographical position, salubrious climate, fertile soil, and navigable streams." Virginia delights in the arrival of a company of some sixty Swedes, direct from their native land. Their destination is the upper James River, where there is a thriving colony of their countrymen, by whose representations they were induced to come out to this country. A movement is on foot to plant a Polish colony in the same State.

We publish in this number a rather lengthy review of Mills' book on Sir William Hamilton's philosophy, though not lengthier than the subject demands. We advise all readers who dislike "thinking" to save themselves the trouble of writing to us to complain of its "dryness," by skipping it. For the existence and importance of the science of metaphysics, the constitution of man, and not THE NATION, is to blame. The happy time which so many seem to long for has, fortunately or unfortunately, not yet arrived, when the great problems of the universe will be solved by merely turning a crank, and men and women will be able to devote themselves without stint to the perusal of "tales and sketches and anecdotes." Until that period, some will have to pass over the disagreeable duty of diving into the difficulties of metaphysics, which, as Mr. Mill remarks, "lie at the root of all science."

EVERY year at this season the newspapers are half filled with long letters from the various "summer resorts," giving an account of the way people pass the day at these places. The perseverance with which this sort of writing is kept up is sometimes remarkable, considering that any paper might, by changing the dates, furnish the very same amount of appropriate matter by going back to last year's files. The eating, drinking, and dressing, and lounging at Sharon, Newport, and Saratoga are just the same as they were last summer. The same scenes recur in the parlors and dining-rooms; the men plunge and the women bob up and down in the surf in precisely the same fashion; and the journey to these places is performed in much the same way. An account of a "Walk Down Broadway," or a "Ride to Harlem in an Third Avenue Car," would be novel and interesting compared to most of the gossip from the watering places and mountains to which we are treated every day.

THE committee presided over by the French Empress has reported at considerable length the results of its enquiries into the condition of the juvenile prisoners of the department of the Seine. The report gives a very full history of the legislation which preceded the law of August 5, 1850, and by which there had come to be a separation in confinement of the youthful and the more advanced and hardened offenders. In 1837 the American system of cell-imprisonment had obtained such influence, owing largely to the observations of De Tocqueville in this country, that it was extended even to the inmates of La Roquette—the children's penitentiary. The committee first charge the managers of this institution with not carrying out the provisions of the law of 1850, which enjoined some departure from the system of cells, and then devote themselves to a comparison of La Roquette with the various agricultural colonies—what we should call farm-schools—introduced into France by M. Demetz in 1839. The first and most distinguished of these is that at Mettray, a village not far from Tours. The statistics prove the immense superiority of these establishments, under equal disadvantages as regards the original character of their subjects, over the prison of La Roquette and the solitary confinement there enforced. Health, morals, and education in books and the callings of life are more rapidly and surely promoted in the sunshine of the country than within the gloomy walls of a city prison. The decisive test of the merits of the rival systems is the proportion of those who lapse into vicious ways when released from restraint. In some triennial periods the percentage of those who fell a second time was from La Roquette at least twice that of those from Mettray—in one instance four times as great. The gratifying fact is elicited that whereas the new-comers at the farm-schools generally prefer to learn other occupations rather than agriculture, they at last are disposed to give it the preference, and there is no difficulty in finding them homes and situations throughout the country. The boys at Mettray behaved so gallantly at the inundation of the Loire, in 1856, as to cause the city of Tours to strike a gold medal in recognition of their humane services. Massachusetts has initiated the experiment of putting young offenders on board a school-ship, where they are educated as if on land, while at the same time they are qualified to make competent and trustworthy seamen. Some of the graduates of this novel penitentiary distinguished themselves in the naval engagements of the late war.

A REMINDER of the primary signification of the "Tuileries" (tile-ries) is contained in a late discovery in the Place du Carrousel at Paris. In digging a ditch for a new edifice, the mattocks of the laborers grazed a brick structure, which proved on examination to be a kiln of the famous Bernard Palissy. An antiquarian who was present immediately connected it with a work which the great potter had undertaken for Catharine de' Medici about the year 1570. Curiously enough, a letter of his to the queen-mother, offering to construct and decorate a grotto in the gardens which then occupied the place, was brought to light and published only four years ago. The designs which he set forth in it are confirmed almost to the least detail by the remains of moulds for statues, plants, shells, and much fantastic pottery, which have been found in the kiln thus proved to have been erected near the scene of his device.

Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.

All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.

THE LATEST PHASE OF CONSERVATISM.

It is profitable to observe how the forces of conservatism, rallying after the signal failure of their efforts to defend and perpetuate the institution of slavery, are marshalling their strength for the characteristic attempt to prevent the enlightenment, elevation, and enfranchisement of the negro race.

Viewed in the interest of humanity, our recent conservatism does not present a very praiseworthy record. Its influence, political and religious, has been mainly devoted to the defence of slavery. Learned divines have combined with unscrupulous demagogues to discourage all discussion of the principles involved in the enforced bondage of a race of human beings, and to denounce every effort to mitigate the atrocities of the inhuman system. To attack slavery on any grounds, moral or political, was to be promptly classed with the advocates of women's rights, wearers of the Bloomer costume, disciples of the school of free-love, disbelievers in capital punishment, spiritualists, communists, and supporters of every extreme "ism" and "ology" then recognized as having any adherents in this country. No efforts were spared to debauch the moral sentiment of the nation. A bishop of a Northern diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church vied with a reverend president of a Northern college in defending the institution on Scriptural grounds. An incorporated religious society, organized for the purpose of diffusing pure evangelical instruction throughout the land, controlling immense funds, and having agents in all parts of the country, repeatedly refused to circulate tracts calling attention to the abuse and iniquities of the "peculiar institution," or even to endorse and distribute the teachings of the Bible on a subject so vital to the public morals and the nation's weal. In other words, conservative Christianity could denounce with the fiercest rhetoric the awful wickedness of theatrical exhibitions, and the deadly sin of dancing, but had no word of condemnation for a system that held four millions of human beings in helpless and hopeless bondage, denied them the right of marriage, excluded them from all opportunities of education, and, in short, regarded them theoretically, and treated them practically, as mere chattels.

Conservative statesmen deprecated all agitation of the question, and predicted the dismemberment of the Union and the downfall of democratic institutions everywhere, if the doctrine of a higher law should prevail. Conservative men of business joined most cordially in the unholy crusade against justice and human freedom. They saw danger to their craft from the popular presentation of any arguments which could irritate the South, and preferred "peace on any terms" to a withdrawal of Southern trade. The plausible but flimsy pretence of geographical parties and sectional platforms was vigorously and for a long time effectively urged. Temporary material prosperity was considered an ample equivalent for national dishonor, and large entries on the credit side of the ledger reconciled men to frightful inroads on their capital of self-respect.

Nor does the humiliating history end here. Not only were appeals to pecuniary interest diligently and successfully made, but conservatism did not consider its dignity endangered by the lowest appeals to class prejudice and distinctions of caste. If the opponent belonged to the sterner sex, he was instantly impaled on the point of the following pertinent enquiry: "How would you like to marry a nigger woman?" If the attack was made with feminine logic, the defence was put in this delicate and decisive form: "How would you like to marry a nigger man?" Those who lived by the labor of their hands were threatened with an aggressive horde of blacks to compete successfully with white laborers in every agricultural and mechanical employment, while, with a singular disregard of consistent reasoning, the philanthropic element of the North was informed that even gradual emancipation would inevitably result in the starvation of the negroes.

But the inexorable logic of events, or rather the Providence of God

acting through human instrumentalities, has changed all this—American slavery, whether as recognized in the Constitution or as protected by State legislation, exists only in history. The slaveholders' rebellion has been crushed, and the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy has been ground to powder. It has found in the armies of Grant and Sherman the upper and nether millstone. However the exorcised and departing demon may tear and rend the body of Southern society, its doom is sealed.

But is the sublime mission of conservatism accomplished? Is its ennobling occupation gone? Very far from it. The spirit which has thus far controlled its ineffective councils, and dictated its defeated action, still survives. To be sure, slavery as an existing and legalized institution is past praying for. Even its most zealous defenders, who

—cherished it long as a holy prize,
Who bedewed it with tears, and embalmed it with sighs,"

are reluctantly compelled to confess that it is a thing of the past.

Unhappy as they must be to abandon such an excellent scheme for christianizing the African race, these benevolent conservatives must forsake their promising field of missionary enterprise. Nevertheless, we see them sorrowing not as those without hope. There is yet something worthy to be conserved. There are still extant many traces of the old iniquity. Neither the Emancipation Proclamation, nor the Constitutional Amendment, nor the utter dispersion and annihilation of the rebel armies, has inspired the great majority of those who were recently slaveholders with any sentiments of common humanity or common justice. There remains the old determination to compel labor without adequate compensation, to exact obedience at the bidding of the lash—in a word, to perpetuate the spirit without the system of slavery.

Now what a rare opportunity is here presented for conservative effort! What may not be accomplished by the active and intimate alliance of Northern and Southern conservatives? The opportune friendship of Pilate and Herod promised hardly less hopeful results. Of course vigorous opposition must be anticipated from those unprincipled radicals who loved the Union better than slavery, and were determined that at any cost of loyal blood and treasure the Constitution should be preserved, even if slavery perished in the conflict. But the principle to be contended for is certainly worth a desperate struggle. The policy to be pursued is clearly consistent with the historical record of conservatism. It is nothing less than a deliberate design to prevent the freedmen of this nation from enjoying those rights and privileges which, if not their natural birthright, have, in the opinion of these same crazy radicals, been fairly won by their services and sufferings.

We may, perhaps, be pardoned if we examine this question for a moment in the light of our recent experience as a nation. The lessons which this war has taught, with reference to the character and capacity of the Southern negro, would seem to be tolerably intelligible even to conservative minds. Let us glance at a few of these lessons.

During many long, dreary, conservative years, the danger of servile insurrection was the hangman's whip to keep the North in order. To discuss the right or wrong of slavery was to endanger the lives of innocent women and children; was to put guns, and knives, and firebrands in the hands of infuriated slaves; was to inaugurate a reign of terror from Baltimore to Brownsville. The Declaration of Independence was incendiary. The Sermon on the Mount was incendiary. Everything was incendiary which did not inculcate abject submission on the part of the slave, and unquestioned authority on the part of the master. To be sure, all this was somewhat inconsistent with what we were constantly told of the tender and touching nature of the patriarchal institution; but it was no time to be logical when the valuable lives of so many worthy and helpless people were imperilled. Now what has the history of the war taught us on this point? We have seen State after State of the so-called Southern Confederacy stripped of the immense preponderance of its adult white male population, thousands of plantations left in the sole charge of helpless women, and yet there has not been a single well authenticated instance of a slave revolt.

Whether this most significant forbearance, on the part of the slaves, to avenge by indiscriminate slaughter their lifelong injuries, was due to their apathy or their ignorance, will appear when we proceed to con-

sider another pithy and pregnant lesson which we have learned during the last four years.

We have long been in the habit of hearing a great deal about the inherent and inevitable incapacity of the negro race. And yet it has been abundantly proved that, while the slaveholding rebels have used their utmost diligence and ingenuity to represent the "Yankee hordes" as the natural enemies of the negroes, fighting merely in the interest of white men, and designing only their swift destruction, the slaves have had a juster appreciation of the real questions at issue in the war, and a truer recognition of their best and most available friends, than the poor whites of the South. In fact, if the recent rebellion has demonstrated one thing more clearly than another, it has demonstrated that the blacks were *par excellence* the loyal population of the seceding States—ever faithful to the flag to which they owed no gratitude, and to the Constitution which had always been interpreted in the interest of their oppressors.

And once more, the war has taught us that the negroes were not only willing but eager to lay down their lives in defence of those great principles of constitutional liberty and republican government which were the hope and the refuge of the democratic idea all over the civilized world. And yet, has any one forgotten with what tardy acquiescence, not to say absolute reluctance, the North consented to offer to the enslaved race the poor privilege of dying that the nation might live? During how many dismal months of disaster and defeat did we hear the shallow and selfish cry: "This war is for the benefit of white men, and must be fought by white men?" How many of our readers who to-day rejoice in the good conduct and are proud of the courage of the black soldier, were hoodwinked for awhile by this appeal, which had only (the obvious pun may be pardoned here) a color of reasoning in its support?

But this is not all. We have learned two important lessons since the termination of hostilities:

1st, That the freedmen have no wish to emigrate to the North so long as they are protected in their old home from the illegal exactions and petty tyrannies of their former oppressors:

And, 2d, That the freedmen evince in every way an eager desire to be educated, which is in striking contrast to the wilful and persistent ignorance of the poor whites.

Now we do not contend that there is anything novel in the views which we have presented. Nor do we propose at this time to insist that any or all of these considerations establish conclusively the absolute right of the freedmen to exercise the elective franchise. This is an independent proposition, which we do not design to discuss in the present article. But what we do ask is, that conservative reasons for withholding from black men the civil rights which are freely extended to white men shall not be based upon theories which have been long since refuted, or enforced by arguments which savor strongly of injustice and inhumanity. The whole subject is too important, and involves issues too momentous, to be disposed of in the summary style which settled similar questions a few years ago. The blacks have at least earned the right to have their alleged claims fairly and fully presented for the deliberate and conscientious decision of a candid public.

Of course, this appeal for fair dealing in the consideration of the subject of negro suffrage is addressed only to honest, intelligent, and loyal conservatives. We desire no controversy on this point with disloyal people, North or South. Such men, whether they are classed with persistent and incorrigible rebels, or with workers and wire-pullers in a certain political party, are insensible to any claims of right and incapable of appreciating any arguments founded on natural justice. They have made up their issue, and seem willing to stand or fall by it. And this issue does not turn on the question of loyalty or disloyalty; of fidelity or faithlessness to the Constitution and the Union; of blood shed in defence or defiance of the Government; of ignorance or intelligence; but simply on the difference between a white and a black complexion. In other words, it is the old defence of slavery with a new application. It is an attempt to revive the infamous doctrine that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. It is the last effort of defeated and dying despotism to regain by the arts of diplomacy what has been lost by an appeal to arms. It is the latest

and not the most creditable phase of the ancient alliance between Northern conservatives and Southern slaveholders. It wholly ignores the origin, objects, and results of the war; the light shed by the progress of events upon the temper and tendency of slavery; and the inherent and invincible strength of free institutions. It appeals to the old spirit of domination in the South and submission in the North. It invokes the aid of such logic as is to be found in frequent allusions to long heels, woolly heads, black skins, and thick lips. If such a war as we have waged for four years has not disabused the loyal North of such palpable heresies as these, there is good ground for despairing of the republic.

GOVERNOR PERRY AT WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR PERRY has got back to South Carolina, and gave at Greenville, on the 1st day of August, a most interesting and instructive account of his visit to Washington. He started for the purpose of asking the President to appoint a Provisional Governor and restore civil government in the State, but on his way met a messenger with a commission appointing him Provisional Governor, so that when he got to Washington he was himself a living, moving, smoking, and probably chewing evidence that South Carolina had not been forgotten.

The effect of his arrival in the Capital on his English and his manners was most gratifying. A year ago, he would probably have talked of "sending a message to Andy Johnson to say he'd like to see him." Now, however, he "sent a note to the President asking the honor of an interview." Not hearing anything in reply, he called on "Governor Dennison, Postmaster-General." This gentleman, according to Mr. Perry's account, seems to have been thrown into a sort of mild ecstasy by the sight of him, for "he obligingly ordered his carriage," and hurried off to the White House to see what was the matter. The note had not been received. So the President wrote to say he would receive Governor Perry and his friends at three o'clock in the White House, or, as Mr. Perry calls it, the "Executive mansion." It might be popularly supposed that Mr. Perry replied that he would be there at that hour. Nothing so vulgar. He wrote to say "that he would do himself the honor to call on His Excellency at the hour designated," and that he would be accompanied by eight friends, four of whom were "colonels," and the other four ordinary men.

When the "hour designated" arrived, Mr. Perry had of course much reason to feel troubled in his mind, because he had, just before he started on his journey, delivered the well known speech in which he declared that the rebellion was no rebellion at all, that there was nobody who felt "the humiliation and degradation of going back into the Union more than he did," that the people of the South had won "immortal honors" during the war, "and that for his part he would not and could not ask his fellow-citizens to forget the past as far as the North was concerned." There was evidently some danger that "His Excellency" might not like this speech, and that he might make some disagreeable criticisms on it.

These dismal apprehensions were not realized. Mr. Johnson was everything that the Governor, the four colonels and four citizens could desire. He was "kind," "solicitous," "magnanimous." He impressed them with his "courtesy, dignity, and ability." His "views were those of a patriot and a statesman." His opinions on the subject of State rights "were identical with his (the Governor's) own." He scouted the idea of the general Government meddling with the State franchise. In fact, the party could hardly have had anything to say to each other, for no great thought had apparently ever been hatched in Mr. Perry's brain of which Mr. Johnson was not able to produce a duplicate on the spot.

On leaving the White House they called on Mr. Seward. Owing to the regrettable circumstance that Mr. Seward has no title, the Governor is obliged to call him Mr. Seward simply; but he found him charming—"kind," "cordial," and "gratified." Before seeing Mr. Seward they had seen Attorney-General Speed, who had cruelly expressed "surprise" and "mortification" at the Governor's speech, thereby, however, showing, as might be expected, that "he had only glanced at it," and, poor fellow, "did not comprehend the tone and temper of my (the Governor's) remarks." In Mr. Seward's bosom they found consolation for the Attorney-General's hard and worldly observations. The Secretary

of State knew exactly how it was. He had talked bunkum himself many a time, and knew what it was to have his bunkum criticized by cold, analytical outsiders. Said he, evidently in the charitable design of consoling his guest:

"I read your speech this morning attentively, and, considering the stand-point from which you make it, I think it a very good one. When I was Governor of New York, I used to make speeches which were very severely criticized in Charleston, and I said to myself, what the devil have the people of Charleston to do with my speech made in New York? I did not speak to them or for them, but to the people of New York. And I suppose, Mr. Perry, you intended your speech for South Carolina and not for Washington."

We think Mr. Seward might now very well ask, what had the people of Greenville to do with his speech to Mr. Perry?

Thus the whole matter was explained in a jiffy and to Mr. Perry's entire satisfaction. He had come on to Washington feeling a little uncomfortable about the speech; with a dim consciousness that he had better not have made it, and that it was a very disagreeable burden for a Provisional Governor to carry about; and that the utmost he could hope for in the Capital was that it would not be alluded to. We may imagine his surprise and delight, therefore, when the Secretary of State told him the flattering tale that it was all right; that political opinions are to be judged by the latitude and longitude in which they are uttered; and that when high functionaries applaud rebellion against the Government in Charleston, it is an impertinence for people in other places to pretend to hear them. What Mr. Perry's speech contains, it appears, was local truth, which is well known to be an entirely different thing from universal truth—truth prepared for the citizens of the spot, just as sherries are brandied in Spain for the American and English markets.

Leaving Mr. Seward, the party called on Mr. McCulloch, and had a delightful time. Much as they enjoyed themselves at the Executive Mansion and in the State Department, their gratification in these places was not to be compared to that which awaited them in the Treasury.

The particular barrel of comfort which Mr. McCulloch tapped for them does not appear, and in fact, as well as we can make out, it was less from what this gentleman said that Mr. Perry derived his happiness, than from the contemplation of his character, which the visitors seem to have laid bare in a few minutes. How long he was in their hands does not appear—we should imagine not more than an hour at the outside; but it will astonish Mr. McCulloch, no doubt, as much as it will gratify him, to know that Governor Perry was "very much pleased with him as a gentleman, a public officer, and a statesman." It will be admitted even by the most embittered of Governor Perry's detractors that a person who can discover the qualities of a high official, as "a gentleman, officer, and statesman," in the course of a morning call, must be a person of uncommon penetration.

We ought to mention that Governor Perry also announced that he had informed the President "that he would have the State ready, her constitution reformed, and her members of Congress elected by the first Monday in December." This, however, it must not be forgotten, was said in Greenville, and was addressed to the people of Greenville, and should any evil-minded critics in this part of the country attempt to make disagreeable comments on it, the Governor would doubtless now have his reply ready, that he intended his speech for South Carolina, "and what the devil had the people of the North to do with it?" Bunkum is clearly a great political force. Shallow theorists often speak disrespectfully of it; but on really great occasions, when a nation is laboring in the throes of a mighty social crisis, and its weightiest and most sacred interests are at stake, a little frank and hearty expression of contempt for the popular sense and perspicacity often works wonders.

SOMETHING NEW FROM THE STUMP.

GENERAL HOWARD, in his admirable and instructive address before the Maine Freedmen's Relief Association, a fortnight ago, said, in speaking of the possibility of the white and black races living together at the South in peace and unity:

"Let me tell you my method of solving the problem—how to rid

ourselves of this prejudice. It is, get more of the spirit of Christ. That will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But you will say, 'This is not practical; the love of Christ is not so wide-spread as to render this available.' Well, then, interest will do it."

Commenting on this, the *New York Times* says, in a spirit not, we admit, characteristic of the paper:

"Very unusual sort of talk, this, for the stump, and calculated, we fear, to be exceedingly distasteful to that wholesome public sentiment which turns with indifference from every species of sectarian shibboleth, and reprobates the needless introduction of religious considerations into secular discussions. If Gen. Howard could be transferred into some terribly-swearing department—some army of Flanders—he might be useful as a missionary. We do not, however, believe that his preaching will solve the great problem involved in the condition of the emancipated negro."

Now, in our opinion, many wise things as General Howard said in the course of his address, this was, perhaps, the wisest, for there is nothing more certain, historically, than that, during the last eighteen hundred years, no other agency has been so potential in enabling men of all races and conditions to dwell peaceably together, in effacing distinctions, and in diffusing the sense of human brotherhood, as this very "spirit of Christ." It overthrew slavery in the Roman Empire; it gave the first great impetus to the abolition of serfdom in modern Europe; and certainly, if it was not to the more general application of Christian teaching to the conduct of political and social life that we owed the commencement and the success of the emancipation movement in our day, we know not to what we did owe it. And, much importance as we attach to wise legislation and vigorous enforcement of the laws, we sincerely believe that the final and complete triumph of order and justice at the South, the general diffusion through the white population of a feeling of respect for the rights of negroes, and the permanent foundation on the ruins of slavery of a stable, orderly, peaceable, and prosperous society, will only come when the Southern people have imbibed more of the "spirit of Christ" than has yet fallen to their lot. Anybody who sets about reorganizing Southern society without recognizing this influence in his calculations, would prove himself not a statesman, but a charlatan. And it is because we desire to see this spirit do its work, and do it as speedily as possible, that we rejoice to see slaveholding brutality and violence restrained in the meantime by the strong arm of the law. No moral agency can act effectively on men who are allowed, day by day, to gratify their devilish passions, their hatred of weakness, their ferocious pride of race and color. Look at the case of the Virginia shoemaker of whom our correspondent speaks, who declares that nothing so moves him to "cut a nigger's throat from ear to ear" as to see him testifying in a court of justice. The first thing to be done with a barbarian of this sort is, of course, to restrain him from the commission of evil by the strong arm of the law, but what, we should like to know, will ever banish the anti-social passions from his heart, and give him a right sense of what he owes to his neighbor, if it be not the spirit of Christianity?

General Howard's language is, we admit, "very unusual sort of talk for the stump," and more is the pity. We dislike as much as anybody the practice of dragging in religious ideas or religious allusions to give weight and éclat to every trumpety proposition that may be propounded on the ordinary topics of the day, in the press or on the platform. But no discussion of the right or wrong of slavery, no inquiry into the claims of men, as men, to equality before the law, in which the teachings of Christianity are not acknowledged to be the final source of instruction and of confidence, can ever bear any real fruit. And no settlement of affairs at the South which is not in the eye of the people clothed with this supreme sanction, will, we fear, ever prove lasting or satisfactory, for no laws which are not supported by the moral sense of the community can ever be thoroughly efficient.

The trouble with Southern society in times past has been that it has been practically a pagan society. The separation between religion and morals in it has been all but complete; the restriction of men to custom as their sole rule of life, all but general. They had borrowed their political and social philosophy from heathen Rome, with simply a little tincture in it of the amenities of modern civilization. Aristotle and Cato furnished the sources from which Southern statesmen and patriarchs drew their social science, and probably nothing in modern times has done so much

to shake the hold of the church on what was best amongst the people, as the shameless facility with which she lent her sanction to plantation theories of human relations. So that it is now, and now only, that the social influence of Christian teaching can be fairly tried at the South, and we for our part are satisfied that the final pacification must come from it—from the thorough perception of the equality of men, and the thorough apprehension of the legal consequences which flow from it, which the modern world has derived from the diffusion of the spirit of Christ, and, we might almost say, from this alone.

COOLIE LABOR AT THE SOUTH.

THE *World* a few days ago made the following announcement:

"If the experiment of free negro labor does not hereafter work well in the cultivation of cotton, sugar, rice, and other staple Southern products, it is inevitable that the owners of large plantations South will try what can be done with coolie or Asiatic labor. It is probably known to many of our readers that, during the past ten years, large numbers of Hindoos and Chinamen have been induced to emigrate to Cuba, Trinidad, and British Guiana, under contracts to work, for a term of years, for stipulated sums. All accounts agree that the experiment has proved successful. The climate does not disagree with the Asiatics, whose labor is far more efficient than that of the freed negro.

"An effort is now making to introduce coolie labor into Jamaica."

The writer then quotes Trollope in proof of the success of the experiments in the British West Indies.

Let us commence by saying that Trollope's work on the West Indies, like his deceased mother's book on the United States, abounds in inaccurate statements, and is consequently very untrustworthy authority. So far as Jamaica is concerned, the writer of this article has had an experience of matters there which entitles him to say that most of the statements in that work should be taken *cum grano salis*, and that many of them are totally incorrect. Trollope spent only a few weeks in the island, which he visited on official duties in the post-office department of the imperial Government; and he was during the whole of that time engaged in travelling from place to place. He was everywhere the guest of the planters, from whom he derived all his information as to the state of affairs generally, and the character and condition of the blacks in particular. Such information would be of course colored by the peculiar prejudices of the dominant class; and he cannot therefore be regarded as a trustworthy guide in matters relating to Jamaica. We will not however content ourselves with mere assertion, but shall let facts speak.

At the time that Mr. Trollope wrote his book on the West Indies, it is true that strenuous efforts were being made to promote coolie emigration for the cultivation of the Jamaica sugar plantations, and that those efforts were encountering stout opposition both from a certain party in the colony and from another in England composed of the philanthropists of Exeter Hall. In view of the results of such emigration in British Guiana and Trinidad, Mr. Trollope thinks it "singular" that an attempt should be made to prevent it in the case of Jamaica. But he was either ignorant of the fact, or he suppressed it, that the experiment of coolie labor as a substitute for that of the negro had been already tried in Jamaica, and had proved a total and miserable failure. It was not more than three or four years after the emancipation of the blacks that the planters of that island fell upon the expedient of importing coolies to do the work of their plantations. Under legislative enactment an agency was established in India for collecting coolies and shipping them to Jamaica, and over ten thousand of these people were sent to the island and distributed among the planters. But it was soon discovered that most of them were totally unfit for agricultural labor, and upon enquiry it turned out that the majority of them had been hastily taken from the scum of the streets of Calcutta and Madras, and shipped off to the West Indies. All that the agent and his subordinates seemed to have cared about was their head-money; the more coolies they shipped, the more pay they got; and in their greed of gain they foisted upon the colony a lot of worthless people. The planters found that they had committed a great mistake. The coolies were either turned off the plantations or left to wander whithersoever they pleased without any restraint, and to find subsistence as best they might. The consequences were most deplorable. The poor wretches

were soon found infesting the streets and the highways, living by mendicancy, and large numbers of them perished miserably.

Meanwhile the island had been burdened, through the experiment, with a debt of nearly two millions of dollars, that became a charge upon the general revenue, to which the freed negroes were compelled to contribute as well as the planters. Undeterred, however, by the bitter experience of the past, at the period when Mr. Trollope visited Jamaica, the planters, still bent upon obtaining cheap labor, were agitating for a renewal of the experiment that had already so lamentably failed. There were those, both in Jamaica and in England, who had not forgotten the upshot of the first trial. They opposed the scheme, but were unsuccessful in their opposition; and it was ultimately decided, after two years of agitation, that the experiment should be again tried, under, professedly, more stringent regulations than at first—provision being made, among other things, that two-thirds of the expense should be borne by the planters. And what has been the result? This time an agent, specially selected with a view to his fitness for the work, was sent out from Jamaica to India; ships were chartered, and about four thousand coolies were sent over to the island in the space of three years. Then the planters suddenly discovered that there was no longer any need of coolie laborers, that the expense attendant upon the scheme was too heavy for them to bear, and that the negro laborers were preferable to the Asiatic. The agent was summarily recalled; and for nearly two years past, not a single coolie emigrant has been landed on the shores of Jamaica. The greater portion of those now on the island will have to be sent back to India, after fulfilling the terms of their indentures; and when the last of them shall have left for his native land, it will be found that the island has incurred a debt little short of four millions of dollars through the twice-repeated experiment, without having reaped any benefit in return for such a large outlay of money.

As to Cuba, we shall say nothing here, for coolie emigration there is, we fear, only another name for slavery; but with regard to Demerara and Trinidad it cannot be denied that in those colonies the experiment has to all appearance worked successfully. But for this two reasons may be assigned, not operating in the case of Jamaica. First, in both of those countries population is much more sparse than in Jamaica. With a territory four or five times as large, Demerara, according to the last census, has little more than one-third the population of Jamaica; and Trinidad, which is about half the size of her sister island, has barely one-fourth the population of Jamaica. In both these colonies, then, labor is scarce; but in Jamaica, with fair wages and regular payments, it can be had in abundance. Second, the experiment has been conducted with a different system of management from that which obtains in Jamaica. Demerara and Trinidad are what are called "crown colonies." Their legislatures are not elective bodies, chosen by suffrage in the colony, but are composed of nominees of the crown; and thus the imperial Government exercises a more direct and influential control over their affairs than is possible in the case of Jamaica, where the popular voice is represented, or supposed to be represented, in the legislature. In those colonies, therefore, the regulations under which coolie emigration is conducted have been framed in strict compliance with the instructions of the Colonial Minister for the time being, and these were of a nature to ensure the most ample protection for the emigrant laborer. In the case of Jamaica, on the contrary, almost everything has been left in the hands of the local legislature, and the planters have resented, as an arbitrary and unjustifiable interference with the authority and power of the employer, and a gross reflection upon their humanity and sense of justice, any attempt on the part of the imperial Government to apply the same rules to them as to the other two colonies. The results have proved that the conduct of such an experiment as the one in question ought never to have been entrusted to them. We have said that the scheme of employing coolie labor has, apparently, succeeded in Demerara and Trinidad; but the fact is, that both those colonies are now burdened with enormous debts incurred for this Asiatic emigration; and it is notorious that since Trollope wrote his book on the West Indies a sad reaction has taken place in the fortunes of the latter. What the end will be of a system of labor so utterly at variance with all known laws of political economy, remains yet to be seen.

In Jamaica, the second trial of the scheme promises to be as disastrous as the first, although it has been made under all the advantages of the experience derived from that by the planters and the legislature. From a recent number of the *Falmouth Post*, a newspaper published on the north side of the island, we find that vagrancy and destitution are again common among the coolies in Jamaica:

"The parish of St. James is not the only one in the county of Cornwall in which there is a vast amount of destitution among immigrants that have been imported from the East Indies. In the towns and rural districts of Trelawney, Hanover, and Westmoreland, many of these people, covered with sores, almost naked, and apparently in a starving condition, wander about asking for alms. Some of them, it is supposed, are deserters from the properties of their employers, and others, having terminated their contracts of service, depend upon chance for their subsistence. The sub-agent, whose duty it is to look after, neglects them; and we have reason to believe that much of their unserviceableness and vagrancy is the result of this culpable neglect. This is a fact to which we respectfully direct the attention of His Excellency the Governor and the members of the Executive Committee. What is to become of these miserable creatures, who, whatever be their faults, ought not to be left to shift for themselves?"

Commenting on this, the *County Union*, another Jamaica newspaper, says:

"Let the Governor enquire now, and he will find a miserable coolie in the county jail, sent there for no crime whatever—sent there upon the wanton caprice of Mr. Rawlins (the sub-agent)—sent there without trial or offence—sent there to work out that cold-blooded inhumanity of which every act of his is redolent. This poor wretch is, and has been for some time past, a mere anatomy of bone, covered by as sunken a proportion of skin as the human frame can exist in. He is scarce able to crawl—scarce able to lift hand to mouth to keep himself alive with offal picked up in the streets, or thrown from the yard in which turtle is prepared for exportation. We have seen him contest a meal with the carrion-crows, fighting for the refuse bones with raw flesh on them, and if the police were examined on the man's case, and chose to speak the truth, his sores had maggots on them when he was taken up! This," adds the *Union*, "shows what can be done in a country where slavery and the whip have been abolished."

PERSONAL CONTROVERSY.

THE intermittent disputes of Mr. Thurlow Weed and of Mr. Horace Greeley must be painful to the friends of these gentlemen. Nor are they creditable to the character of the newspaper press. We believe no man who knows him can sincerely doubt the perfect personal integrity, the scrupulous veracity, and the catholic benevolence of the editor of the *Tribune*. Mr. Weed, during his long career as a political leader, has made many friends and many enemies. Whether deservedly or not, he has the reputation of being a man of intrigue; and if parties are to be managed, as we suppose they must be while parties exist, nobody can bring to the work greater dexterity than Mr. Weed has frequently displayed. Mr. Greeley, on the other hand, is not a good party tactician. Perhaps he is too honest; certainly, he has too little control over a temper naturally violent. When he is angry, and he is often angry, he can no more keep a secret than he can live without breathing. When engaged in a dispute he rarely stops to cull nice phrases, and he has an uncomfortable habit of giving the lie direct, which, if generally adopted in social intercourse, would occasion the breaking of many heads and the blacking of many eyes. In one of his recent replies to Mr. Weed, he speaks of "that shameful, pernicious, systematic traffic in legislation, franchises, grants, and immunities whereby Thurlow Weed has become rich and infamous." This is perfectly plain speaking. Thersites himself could not have improved upon it. Mr. William Cobbett never black-guarded in a more bouncing style. Mr. Weed retorts that Mr. Greeley is "ambitious, selfish, and false," and intimates that he is also "a howling demagogue." We see no end of the controversy, except in the death of one of the combatants; and yet we should be very glad to see it stopped at once. With the private quarrels of men, privately conducted, we have nothing to do; but when they fill up the columns of our newspapers, to the exclusion of much more agreeable and profitable matter, and seek to make every reader a party in the affray, we begin to ask ourselves if these hatreds and misunderstandings are of sufficient consequence to the public to be paraded in large and leaded type and served

up to us with the morning muffins. If the public does relish the acrimony of the contest, it is a question whether the relish can be considered a healthy one. We are not aware that literary is any more respectable than physical pugilism; and a scolding match in the newspapers is no better than a scolding match in a fish-market. We may chuckle at the scientific style in which Mr. Greeley belabors Mr. Weed, and at the pluck with which the latter counters the heavy blows; but after all, the spectacle of two such men thus engaged is not a pleasant one. Generally a third and sometimes a fourth party manages to enter the field; the fight becomes more furious as it becomes more extensive, until, after a rainy season of left-handed compliments and of effervescent cards, the "scrimmage" is brought to a welcome conclusion by general consent. It reminds one of the battle royal in poor Kit Smart's play:

"Thus when a barber and a collier fight,
The barber beats the luckless collier white;
The dusty collier heaves his ponderous sack,
And, big with vengeance, beats the barber black;
In comes the brick-dust man with grime o'erspread,
And beats the collier and the barber red;
Black, red, and white in various clouds are tossed,
And in the dust they raise the combatants are lost."

It is a curious fact, that for many years the bitterest struggles in this State should have been between members of the same party, who, according to sound policy and the sheerest prudence, should have agreed like Dr. Watts' birds in their little nest. It does not give one a lofty idea of a political organization to hear a moiety of its members calling the other rogues. Family disputes are always scandalous, and there is nothing better settled, as a mere matter of taste, than that people should wash their dirty linen at home. Parties are created for the public benefit; not that this man may be made a governor and the other a senator, not that Mr. Weed may get rich, not that Mr. Greeley may become famous, but that public affairs may be prudently managed and sound legislation promoted. The revelations which are remorselessly made when politicians fall out, only serve to disgust honest men with the whole machinery of party, and to alienate them from that participation in public affairs which is the duty of every citizen. If parties are mainly controlled by the ambitious, the selfish, and the false; if they necessitate corruption and trickery; if they cannot go on without practices of an exceedingly questionable character, then men who wish to keep their hearts from hardening and their hands from uncleanness, will resolutely remain in a private station and leave the country to take care of itself. What, indeed, could give a foreign observer a lower idea of our politics, and of the prospects of the country, than this very quarrel which has just been spicing the New York newspapers? Here are two gentlemen, each of them a prominent Republican, each of them a recognized leader of his party, each of them exercising a great influence in nominations, in elections, and in legislation, and each over his own signature declares the other to be dishonest, ambitious, selfish, and false. It is melancholy to consider.

But we have determined not to interfere with the subject matter of this controversy. It is so literally none of our business, that we feel it to be a point of good breeding to keep scrupulously aloof from it. But with the manner of the battle we have something to do; and we beg leave most seriously and respectfully to suggest to both these gentlemen the propriety of settling their private disputes by a private correspondence. It is true that they have newspapers at command, and the readers of those newspapers are quite at their mercy. But the public, we fancy, will be better satisfied, and the newspapers in the long run quite as prosperous, if their editorial columns are devoted to matter more instructive though not quite so entertaining.

TRAITORS AND TREASON.

CHANCELLOR OXENSTIERN'S remark as to the small amount of wisdom that goes to the government of men is often quoted, and with effect, there being few things more foolish than most attempts that are made by governments to do good, or to prevent the occurrence of evils. But if the Swedish statesman had seen fit to pursue the subject that was in his mind when he warned his son of the follies of governors, he might have added that the governed were generally as foolish as their

governors. There is hardly an error of rulers, or of parties, which is not the reflection of popular sentiment. Were it not so, the history of government would not be the history of blunders diversified by crimes.

If we look at the history of treason, we shall find that the view generally taken of that offence by mankind is scarcely compatible with belief in their sanity. The law visits treason with the severest denunciations, and certainly those who have administered the law have often been severe even to savageness in their treatment of traitors. The sentences passed upon persons guilty of treason in England, down to quite a recent date, were as filthy as they were fierce, and would have disgraced the Aztecs when Cortes first visited them. The object seems to have been to degrade and to insult the condemned, and to cause them to feel, as it were, pain after death. Few men have the indifference of Diogenes to their remains, and most of us love to associate "solemn and lovely images" with the place of our last and long repose. We think of the grave as if we could be conscious of unconsciousness. Taking advantage of this peculiarity, those who have aimed to make the bitterness of death doubly bitter to persons convicted of treason, have accumulated posthumous horrors for their annoyance. One of the charges against Jeffreys is, that he "always appeared to be in a higher state of exhilaration when he explained to Popish priests [convicted of having been concerned in the Popish plot] that they were to be cut down alive, and were to see their own bowels burned, than when he passed ordinary sentences of death." The foulest of murderers was never made to suffer such punishment as was apportioned to traitors, who often have been persons likely to feel insult far more than pain, treason being, so far at least as concerns the leaders in it, the crime of gentlemen. The famous statute adopted in the reign of Henry VII., by which adherents of the king *de facto* were secured against the pains and penalties of treason, was made necessary by the severity with which the parties to the Wars of the Roses had visited their foes, as each party in its turn became triumphant. Another such generation of civil warfare as that which preceded the decision on Bosworth Field, and the English patriciate would have shared the fate of that of Rome. It would have become an extinct order. And the English lived in constant dread of the renewal of the war for the succession to the throne throughout the entire existence of the Tudor dynasty (1485-1603). This protecting statute was construed so closely that it was not allowed to save the regicides, after the Restoration, though they had adhered to the existing government, and their cases seem fairly to have been within the equity of the act; but as a rule that statute did much to mitigate the evils of the laws against treason, and that it was found necessary to enact it shows not only the profound effect which a long and bloody contest had produced on the English mind, but the extreme severity with which the crime of treason was punished. Executions for treason were numerous under the Tudor dynasty, but they were far less numerous than they would have been had not the law adopted in the reign of the founder of the dynasty confined treason to the adherence to parties that should seek to overthrow a king in possession. Had Cromwell made himself king, and then caused Charles I. to be put to death, after trial, no member of the High Court of Justice could have been punished legally in England on the restoration of the House of Stuart.

But while the crime of treason has been so severely regarded by the general law, and it has been found necessary to soften that severity by the passage of a statute, the adoption of which makes an era in English history, public sentiment has taken exactly the opposite view of the crime. It is not too much to say that, with the majority of mankind, treason has been in a certain sense a popular crime—that is to say, traitors have never been regarded with that horror in which men hold murderers, fire-raisers, and others who are guilty of great offences against laws that protect life and property. Exceptions there are to this rule, but of the existence of the rule itself there can be no doubt. Some very peculiar specimens of the class of traitors are mostly spoken of with horror, but in every such case there is to be found something exceptional. Catiline is a representative man of these unpopular traitors, but the place he has in history, and in opinion, is owing chiefly to the denunciations of Cicero, whose orations enter so largely into the education of youth, but partly to the mystery that envelops the man and his designs, and which affords room for thinking the worst of

him and his aims. Benedict Arnold is another traitor who is almost invariably painted in black; but there was something so very mean in his doings, and André's fate was so affecting, that we are at no loss to fix accurately his unpopularity. Yet even Catiline has found defenders and Arnold apologists. Look at the case of Sir Edward Digby. He was engaged in a conspiracy that had in view the most comprehensive plan of assassination ever formed. A dynasty and a legislature were to be blown out of existence in a moment; and a great revolution, it was hoped by the conspirators, would follow from the success of their plot. That plot came very near being successful. But Sir Edward Digby is seldom spoken of as a great criminal—never, indeed, is he spoken of as he would have been spoken of had he been engaged in a plot to commit murder. The purity of his character, and the unselfishness of his conduct, and the fortitude with which he met his fate, are points on which most writers dwell, while they have little more than matter-of-course condemnation for his crime. It is plain to be seen that his doings excited no horror, and we know that his family did not lose consideration because of his part in a conspiracy that stands quite unrivalled for its comprehensive wickedness, and which might have produced the worst effects on the course of the world for the last two hundred and sixty years. He had, as well was said, aimed to "murder a kingdom in its representatives." Yet he died in the firm conviction that he had done no wrong in the sight of heaven, and was both surprised and grieved when he heard that his conduct was condemned by Catholics. He admitted his offence against human law, but he could not be convinced that he had offended God. Such was the view of treason taken by one of the bravest gentlemen of England, and a man of whose personal purity there is no room to doubt; and public sentiment has substantially sustained his own estimate of his action.

That treason has not usually been considered a disgraceful crime, we see by reference to the history of the British nobility. Leaving aside houses that have been ennobled during the last five generations, there are few noble families in Great Britain that have not contributed victims to the scaffold. Howards, Seymours, Percys, Russells, Sydneys, Capels, Radcliffes, Greys, Campbells, Grahames, Devereuxs, Courtenays, Boleyns, Stanleys, Dudleys, Elphinstones, Wentworths, Vanes, Coles, Staffords, Douglasses, Ruthvens, and many other noble families, have seen some of their number perish by the hand of the headsman. But this has happened without bringing any of the disgrace upon the connexions of the victims. And why the difference? Because the world does not look upon treason as it looks upon other crimes of the first magnitude; and the noble personages alluded to were traitors merely, and not murderers or robbers. There is not an old patrician house in Britain which is not proud of the fact that some of its members died on the scaffold for treason, and this without reference to the motives of the gentlemen who were beheaded. For it is necessary to complete the honor of traitors that they should die by steel, and not by the cord. A rope in the family line would not be colored by "all the blood of all the Howards," but the axe is a welcome weapon to every noble mansion. The slightest touch of the hangman causes degradation. The hardest blow of the headsman is as ennobling as of old was the blow from some knightly sword for good services well rendered on a stricken field. The crime committed is never thought of—the mode of punishment is all that is considered. The sovereign in England has generally, when the criminals have been of noble blood, remitted all the worse penalties of treason, and allowed the traitors to perish by simple decapitation. This he has done from the abundance of his grace, for in law the high-born traitor stands no higher than the lowest of his low-born associates. There has been little of grace exhibited to the herd of traitors, who have stretched hemp, while their instigators and leaders have made the acquaintance of "dull blocks and sharp axes." Both leaders and followers have excited pity, not hatred, and more indignation has often been vented on one murderer than on a score of traitors, whose action had caused ten thousand deaths, and misery incalculable.

It is to be observed, as a sort of commentary on men's lenity in the cases of traitors, that treason mostly includes, because it causes to be committed, all those crimes which men hold in especial abhorrence. Murders, rapes, robberies, arson, theft, and miscellaneous violence, are the accompaniments of treason, if it be committed on a tolerably large

scale. It is because treason leads to all these crimes being committed, and to general insecurity, that it is so terrible an offence. Take the grand treason that has been committed in this country by the secessionists: the crime against the republic is of the highest grade, and the highest punishment should be inflicted on those who took the lead in its perpetration. But we could afford to forgive them that offence, were it not for the misery which it has brought on millions of people. The Southern States have been desolated in many parts, and that "section" has been thrown back for years. Sources of wealth that had excited the world's admiration have been dried up, and some of them it will be difficult to open again. An enormous debt—a debt quite unparalleled, when we note the short time of its creation—has been brought upon the country; and to pay that debt will cause the industry of the country to be burdened throughout the present century. The silent misery that is caused by the existence of a great national debt is altogether beyond calculation. It defies the gatherer of statistics to say what evil is done by the gatherer of taxes. Life has been made much harder by the occurrence of the civil war. Thousands of families that lived easily before the war now find it difficult to live at all. The measures which it was found necessary to take to combat the rebels—measures affecting the currency, for example—have prodigiously appreciated the cost of everything, and the change seems to be assuming a permanent character. The evil effect of this may be partially imagined, but it defies description. All feel it, but none can adequately tell the story of their sufferings. And these changes for the worse, and others that have taken place, are all owing to the action of a few men who had no cause to be disaffected with the order of things that existed in 1860, and which had prevailed for seventy years, and under which an amount of prosperity had been enjoyed such as no other country had ever before known.

That treason, the greatest of all crimes, and the cause of most other crimes of violence, should be as lightly regarded as it is by many people here as well as in Europe, is to be attributed to two reasons. In the first place, the law of treasons has been most terribly abused in all old countries. It has been the agency through which bad governments have often rid themselves of inconvenient critics of their proceedings, or by resort to which they have been able to plunder wealthy subjects. Much of that historical literature which forms a portion of our mental food is devoted to the denunciation of tyrants who have employed treason laws to effect the most heinous of purposes. We get many of our notions concerning treason from historians who have written of sovereigns like some of the Roman emperors, who certainly did make a horrible use of the crime of majesty. In England, the history of which country is most familiar to Americans, the abuse of the laws against treason, and their shocking perversion by wicked judges, were as bad as anything that is to be found in the Roman annals. We never think of treason in Rome without also thinking of Tiberius and Sejanus. We never think of treason in England without also thinking of James and Jeffreys. Delation and the Bloody Assize are inextricably associated in our minds with treason; and the conclusion to which this association leads us is prejudicial to the demands of justice. We would rather that all traitors should escape than that our name should be associated with that of bad governments. In the second place, it is not to be disputed that many men who have died on the scaffold as traitors were good men, who sought good ends. They were traitors only in a technical sense, or were condemned to death through the abuse of law by bad tribunals, or through the abuse of power by bad kings or ministers. When such men as Henry Vane, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sydney were condemned as traitors, and suffered accordingly, it is idle to expect that the mere word traitor can be made to move men against the person who bears it; and when they know that if George Washington had failed, and been taken prisoner, he too would have been executed as a traitor, since, technically, though not morally, a traitor he would have been. Were half a dozen good and great men to be executed on the charge of murder, of which it was notorious they were innocent, even the crime of murder would lose much of the horror with which it is now regarded. Doubts would exist in all save the most palpably clear cases of the justice of every conviction for murder that should take place, after such abuses of the law had been witnessed, and convicted persons would be allowed the benefits of all such doubts by the world.

Correspondence.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

The remarks of the author of "Classical and Scientific Studies" in your last number seem to me at once sensible and practical. They are directed against an evil which does not exist at Harvard alone. It is a fault at Yale, and it is my impression that it exists to a great degree in nearly every one of our colleges. The course of preparatory study has been too entirely classical, giving young men a distaste for mathematical and scientific studies if they inclined to the classics, and a distaste for all study if they were put exclusively upon the classics, when their tastes were for other studies; so that, beyond the competition for honors, they have no enthusiasm in study. And whatever may be the theories of mental discipline, it is a fact patent to common sense that boys will not study heartily what they are not interested in; but allowing them to begin with studies which they like, under judicious direction, their tastes are enlarged, and by-and-by they cheerfully engage in studies which at first seemed irksome. The cramming mill through which boys are pushed at the two leading classical academies in Massachusetts (Andover and East Hampton), I can testify from personal observation, does not expand or discipline the mind so generally and so well as those less noted schools where more play and variety are given to individual minds.

I agree, too, most heartily with the writer in his suggestion that the maximum amount of Latin and Greek required for entering college might safely be diminished "by at least one-third," and in place of it there might be "a very stiff examination in physical science." This would engage and interest and develop a larger number of minds. It would give each one who had any aptitude for study a chance to make himself strong in his specialty; it would give all a fairer presentation at the doors of the college. But, further, it would correct a most lamentable failure in college instruction. Boys going in college now are chiefly engaged in Latin, Greek, and mathematics for Freshman and Sophomore year. In this those who like these studies are tolerably successful. But this will comprise hardly more than one-third of the class. Another third will be those who have no special *animus* for them—but engage in them because it is the only way to a college "sheep-skin." The rest are those who are in danger of being plucked at every examination, and many of whom, with a different arrangement of preparatory and earlier college studies, might have stood respectably. They are the unfortunates of this partial and traditional course of study. But the failure of discipline to these minds is not all. When the junior year arrives, the study of the physical sciences begins. There is a little chemistry, a little astronomy, a great deal of natural philosophy, together with a little French and German by way of variety; and the rest of the study of the physical sciences is accomplished by the lecture system, consisting of elaborate, able, and interesting lectures from such men as Dana, Silliman, Newton, and Loomis at Yale, delivered to a class of young men numbering a hundred perhaps, not twenty-five of whom know more than the A, B, C of the sciences, if they do that. The tutors to whom the care of these physical studies is assigned are men elected to office for their attainments in the classics; they know little more than the students themselves about these studies; they presuppose a knowledge of them in the class before them; they do not, therefore, say a word to interest those who know nothing of the subject in its study; it is a simple recitation of the text-book; and a large part of the class, finding these studies so different from the classics, which they have learned to like, turn from chemistry and astronomy in disgust, making them only *memoriter* exercises (as the historian Prescott did his mathematics at Harvard), and thus defeating the very object of their study. The tutors are not the men to teach these studies, unless they are those who had an aptness for them in college; the time given to them is inadequate; there are no brief and attractive explanations before entering on the study, such as every true teacher would give his pupils; the students themselves are not prepared in the class-room for receiving in full the rich expositions of the lecture-room; and the final result of the entire study of the physical sciences as at present pursued at Yale is a failure, nay, more, it is a sham. It is a wrong to the students and an insult to the able men who lecture. In the scientific department of the college, these studies are conducted in a rational way. This entire failure might be amended by the study of these branches in the preparatory course, and by placing live, active, healthy, enthusiastic men in the tutorial chairs—men who, first of all, are manly, and, next, who know something besides Latin and Greek—men who can secure the respect and fidelity of the class they instruct at once by their geniality and faithfulness and ability. There are such men in every

class, who, though excellent scholars, do not take the valedictory, but with a singular blindness they are seldom chosen to these most important posts.

But I hope the day will soon be gone when such failures as these can be reported in our first literary institutions. The press is doing a noble work in urging on the study of the physical sciences. Herbert Spencer's writings have not been without their effect. The more general attention now paid to these pursuits, and the demand for them now made in educated men, will both hasten the change, and with that change we may reasonably hope for a more successful and no less disciplinary college curriculum.

In this change, however, there is a danger, now increasing at Yale, in crowding the college course with too many branches of study. This might be urged for the exclusion of these physical studies, only they are imperatively demanded by the age. But the difficulty is, that some of our larger institutions are ambitious of loading the simple college system with all the attractions of an English university; and this, so long as the college system is adhered to, may result in so crowding the four years of collegiate study as to turn men out mere smatterers in everything, even as it now turns out (and perhaps ever will) its best scholars excellently furnished in nearly everything but a knowledge of common things.

J. H. W.

CHESHIRE, CONN.

THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

VII.

LIBERTY, VA., Aug. 17, 1865.

THE little village of Appomattox Court-House, distant from Lynchburg about twenty-five miles, is situated on low ground at the source of the Appomattox River, and in a district devoted exclusively to farming. It is, therefore, small even among Virginian towns, containing, besides the court-house and a jail in ruins, only some twenty or thirty buildings, mostly the dwellings of farmers; but small as it is, no other collection of houses in all the county so well merits the name of town. It boasts one hotel and one country store, the stock of goods in the latter sadly needing to be replenished. During the time of my visit, both of these buildings were pretty constantly occupied by men who seemed to have no other business on their hands than to lounge in some easy attitude chewing tobacco and talking to each other, or watching across the muddy road and pools of rain water the movements of the soldiers quartered opposite in the court-house yard. In the country parts of Virginia I have seen at one time and another hundreds of white men, and I doubt if I have seen in all more than ten men engaged in labor of any sort. At the store or tavern of every village just such a group of idlers is sure to be found. In accounting for these assemblages, the fact that apple brandy is always for sale by the glass at such places can hardly be considered a sufficient cause, apple brandy being exceedingly abundant in all this region, as nearly every farmer has a still in operation on his own premises. It is to the custom of the country, which throws all work upon the negroes, that the general idleness must in great part be attributed, and in part also, I suppose, to the unsettled condition of public and private affairs, which furnishes to every man a wide and fertile field for conjecture and conversation.

Within musket-shot of the court-house and the store is the range of low hills where Lee's army was drawn up on the morning of its surrender; on a parallel ridge was the centre of Grant's line of battle; and in the valley between, the town's people point out the spot where the commanders met for conference. It is marked by a deep hole, made by the relic-hunters, who have dug up even the roots of the tree beneath which the generals met. At the invitation of Mr. McLean I visited his house, and sat for a while in the parlor where the articles of capitulation were signed.

Nearly all the furniture which it then contained has been taken away by people anxious to possess some memento of the famous transaction. Tables, chairs, vases, fans, pens, books, everything small and great that could be removed from the room, were eagerly bought, or appropriated without purchase, by enthusiastic visitors. All the movables were exhausted, while yet the demands of the curiosity-seekers were unsatisfied. The standish which the generals used happened to be overturned, and a splash of ink was left upon the window-seat and wall. Urgent requests were repeatedly made for permission to cut out the stained wood and plaster, but this one remembrancer of the event, it having thus become part and parcel of the real estate, Mr. McLean has been able to keep for himself. His other souvenirs of the war are less pleasing, for they consist chiefly of negroes set free, lands abandoned, and houses and barns destroyed in the early campaigns. "Yes, sir," he said to me, "I was the alpha and omega of this contest—the beginning and the

end. The first battle of Bull Run, as you call it, was fought on my plantation, and it was in my house that General Lee surrendered his army. But my first state was far worse than my last. At the time of the surrender I escaped all molestation. I could overhear your soldiers saying, 'Well, boys, we can afford to let this old fellow alone; he's seen about enough of it.' It was true; I had seen plenty to satisfy me, and I may say that I was truly thankful that the thing was all over." So far as I could learn none of the villagers suffered at all in person or property at the hands of the Union army, but, on the contrary, its occupation of their district was an advantage to them; for no fighting of any consequence took place in the neighborhood, and when the soldiers of the two armies marched away, they left behind many cows and horses, which of course came into the possession of the people. The requisitions of rebel collecting agents had left the country almost bare of animals fit for the plough or for carting, and the supply of horses thus obtained was very seasonable. The Government has made known its intention of not calling in these animals, at least for the present; and, furthermore, in pursuance of the same benevolent policy, has recently been selling a large number of mules and cavalry horses at Lynchburg. Some of the animals are nearly worthless, but many of them are valuable, and all are cheap; and these sales will doubtless enable the farmers much more easily to get this year's produce to a market, and to prepare a much greater breadth of land for the new wheat crop than they otherwise could.

The town of Liberty, the county seat of Bedford, lies nearly west of Lynchburg on the line of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. I made the journey by rail, and though the iron of the track was much worn, the rolling stock seemed to be in very good order, and we passed over the twenty-four miles between the two towns very comfortably at the rate of ten miles an hour. The fare charged was eight cents a mile. The town, which contains no more than six or seven hundred inhabitants, is very prettily situated on high rolling hills that command fine views in every direction, and particularly where in the north-west, ten miles away, are the blue Peaks of Otter, with the cultivated green slopes at their feet. Half the male population was at the depot to witness the arrival of our train—the one event that breaks the monotony of the day.

In company with an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau I climbed the hill to the main street of the town, and made my way to the court-house. Here are the offices of the provost-marshal of the county and his subordinates, and of the sergeant who acts as local superintendent of freedmen's affairs. The basement of the large court-house is occupied by attorneys' offices, and the first floor is reached by means of a high flight of stone steps. Four stone pillars ornament the front of the building, and are themselves adorned by circulars and printed orders of various Union generals. In one corner of the empty court-room the sergeant had set up his desk, and near it I sat down and watched for an hour the transaction of business. A good many people came in—now it was an old farmer who entered, dressed in an oddly cut, shrunken suit of homespun, wearing a spur on one heel or carrying in his hand a short whip made of leather thongs plaited together; now it was a negro, hat in hand, with a question or a grievance or a request for transportation; now it was a citizen who came in to hear what decision had been made in reference to the case of a friend, or to vouch for the friend's good character, or, more likely, to spend an idle half-hour in a busy place; or a soldier walked listlessly in and out again.

One rough-looking old farmer ties his horse at the foot of the steps and, coming up, enquires for the "provo." His business relates to negroes, and the sergeant tells him that he has charge of all negroes in Bedford County, and will hear what he has to say.

"Two o' my niggers, sir, out thar on my place, are roamin' about and refusin' to work in any shape or manner, and I've come in this mornin' to see if anything kin be done."

"You want to get them back to your farm?"

"Yes, sir; they 'd ought to be thar. Both of 'em 's got a fahmly thar—women and children—and I have to feed 'em reg'lar, and I want the men to come back and work."

"Have they been at work for you?"

"Yes, they begun this spring, but about a fortnight ago they quit; say 'they 'll be dogged if they 'll work for me any mo', and walked off and left their fahmly with me."

"Are they at work anywhere else?"

"I can't say; reckon not. Oh, no, they a'n't goin' to work; not while their women folks take my corn to feed 'em. The women feed 'em."

"Have you been paying any wages?"

"Well, they get what the other niggers get. I a'n't payin' great wages this year, an' I a'n't doin' any great work—makin' a little corn 's about all. But they 'd ought to be whar their fahmly is. One o' the women's no good

to me, and they 've both got children to feed, an' they can't take care of 'em without the men. The men agreed to stay on the place."

"Well, what do you want us to do?"

"Well, I thought like enough you'd give me a guard to bring 'em back."

"I haven't any horses, and I can't send men out afoot to hunt up your darkies. They ought to be at home supporting their wives and children, of course; but I guess if the truth was known they 've got plenty of wives and children in other places as well as there."

"Like enough they may, but I know these women belong to 'em. They 're hanging round the quarters pretty often, for I've seen 'em, and talked to 'em. 'T a' nt fur out."

"Say, sergeant," said a soldier, "I'll go out with the old man."

"Will you go? All right, you know what to say to them. It's just a chance if you get hold of them, though."

"Oh, they 'll be thar. They 'll know I'm away from home to-day."

The old man and the soldier walked off together, and probably the negroes are now at work on the plantation, for whenever they are not brought too closely in contact with the soldiers, so as to receive ill treatment from the badly disposed men who are to be found in every company, they pay unhesitating obedience and respect to a soldier's advice and command. Such, at least, is the testimony given by military men quartered in the country places.

Soon a planter of a better class came in to find out if he could not discharge his negroes. Of course they did n't work to his satisfaction, he said; there was nothing to make them work; employers could n't punish their servants, he believed; punish a negro, and he immediately dropped his hoe and set off for the Yankees. He could manage his negroes if he could have leave to punish them, otherwise they managed themselves, and no work was done.

The sergeant informed him that punishment was not permitted, and probably would not be.

"So I supposed. Well, will the Government take them off our hands? I'm sure I do n't want mine any longer. I can't feed them, and I do n't want to be bothered with them. They are free, and the Government ought to take them, or it ought to give the employers such power as would enable them to control the negroes and make them work. At any rate, a good part of mine are unable to work, and Government ought to take them."

"Were the negroes on your place at work for you this spring?"

"Yes, they are what I owned."

"Did you make any contract with them?"

"No, I told them to stay and keep on with their work. They were there, and there appeared to be nothing else to do with them. I should have been very glad to have had them go; their work has n't paid for their food."

"You 'll have to keep them on the plantation, sir, for the present. We can't take them until we get different orders in reference to this whole matter. The Government has no place for them, and if they 've worked on your crops all the year so far, I guess they 've got a claim on you to keep them a while longer. At any rate, I can't do anything about it. We 'll do what we can to make them work for you while they stay, but they can't be moved."

The planter went out with every appearance of dissatisfaction, and as he passed out of hearing, the sergeant remarked:

"We have lots of those cases now. That man, now, has worked his niggers till he's made all his crops, and when his year's work's done he wants to get shut of 'em."

A very good-looking mulatto man had been standing near the desk while this colloquy was going on, and listened to it with a great deal of interest. In dress he was quite a dandy; his waistcoat and trousers were snow-white, and he wore a long-skirted uniform coat, that had formerly belonged to some Confederate officer, for it was still garnished with the interdicted buttons. When his turn came to speak, he said that he was a deputy from a number of negroes living out in the country, and that he came in to ask two or three questions.

"All right, go ahead, and ask them."

"Is it true, sir, I hear, sir, that all we colored folks is a goin' to be hired out for five years? I said no, I did n't believe it, but I am informed we is; that's to be the law."

"No, it a' n't true. You can hire yourselves out for as long as you want to—one year or two years. You can hire out for five years if you like, but nobody's going to make you. If you can get a good place, I recommend you to hire for as long a time as you a can."

"Yes, sir. Well, I got the rights of that, anyhow. Now, sir, some of we would wish to hire land to work for ourself, or, perhaps, buy a piece of ground, and we would wish to know, sir, from you, sir, if we can do it."

"Yes, rent or buy. I do n't know why you can't do it if you can find any one that 'll let you have the ground. There's no objection to it so far as I know."

"Yes, sir. Well, sir, perhaps we can do so, sir. Perhaps we can do so. But we has n't any horses, or mules, or ploughs, and what we would wish to know is, if the Government would help us out after we get the land. We could rent a place up here if we had some horses to plough, and so on."

"No; the Government has n't any ploughs or mules to give you. You must get those things for yourselves. Well, do you want anything else?"

"Yes," He wanted "a paper, a writing," before he went home, that should authorize him to buy or rent land. It was given him, and he went away contented.

A field-hand was the next applicant: a stalwart young fellow, as straight as an arrow, and perfectly black. He complained that his master had been beating him with a stout stick.

"What did you do to him? You 've been sassy?"

"No, boss; never was sassy; never *was* sassy nigger sence I'se born."

"Well, I suppose you were lazy."

"Boss, I been working all de time; ask any nigger on de plantashn ef I'se ever lazy nigger. Me! me and dem oder boys do all de work on de plantashn same as 'foretime."

"Well, then, what did he strike you for?"

"Dat jest it, sah. Wot'd he strike me for? Dat ar jest it. I done nothin'."

"How many of you are there on the plantation?"

"Right smart family on de plantashn, sah. Danno how many."

"Did he strike any other boy but you?"

"No, sah, me one."

"You must have been doing something?"

"No, boss; boss, I tell you: I'se in at de quarters, me and two o' dem boys, and he came in de do', jump on me wid a stick, say 'he teach me.'"

"What did you do then?"

"Run, come yer."

"Well, now you go back home and go to your work again; don't be sassy, don't be lazy when you 've got work to do; and I guess he won't trouble you."

Very reluctantly the man took his departure.

"That's a sassy looking darkey," said the sergeant. I could not deny it; he certainly had a face that would add much to the force of any insolent speech he might make.

In a minute he came back and asked for a letter to carry to his master, enjoining him to keep the peace, as he feared the man would shoot him, he having on two or three occasions threatened to do so.

"Oh, you go on. He won't shoot you. If he does we 'll have him up here. You go back and go to work, and if he do n't use you well come in again and we 'll see about it." "There's any quantity of those cases," continued he, "and we could n't begin to hear half nor quarter of 'em. When there's one that looks bad, we investigate it; but most of 'em are trifling."

This jurisdiction of the military authorities over the relations existing between whites and blacks is very distasteful to the former masters. "Last Sunday," said my landlord at dinner, "the captain here sent out more than ten miles and made a gentleman and his wife come into town and appear before him to answer to some charge one of their own niggers had made against them. I tell you, sir, it's mighty humiliating. The lady did nothing but cry all the way in and out."

"Did the negro prove his charge?"

"I do n't know. Do n't know whether he did or not. But I know if that captain over there is going to do that, if he's going to listen to nigger evidence, he 'll have his hands full. Why, we'd never let a nigger give evidence against anybody but people of his own color. They never gave evidence against a white man in no court in Virginia. But this captain lets 'em, and it would make you laugh to see the way they flock in to him with complaints. Always a crowd."

"Nothing would make me cut a nigger's throat from ear to ear so quick," said a shoemaker at whose shop I stopped for a minute the other day, "as having him set up his impudent face to tell that a thing was n't so when I said it was so. The idea of letting one o' them be sworn to give his evidence! But I'm d—d if they did n't convict the man," he said, continuing a conversation that I had interrupted, "and not a word of evidence against him but them blamed niggers."

Just before dinner I took a stroll through the quiet streets of the town, in company with an officer of the little Federal garrison.

"That house," said he, pointing to one at a little distance, "had a win

dow or two broken the other evening. I don't blame the boys much; whenever any of us went past, if any of the women were outside they would go in, banging the door as they went, or perhaps hurry to the piano and strike up some rebel tune. On this particular evening they were singing:

"Farewell for ever to the star-spangled banner,
No more shall it wave o'er the land of the free."

They stopped when the stones were sent against the shutters, and sent down a complaint to me the next morning. I told them they should n't be molested, and asked if they would please to give up insulting the men by singing disloyal songs. I don't suppose the men would have cared about the singing so much, but it's not that alone. They're very bitter in these little country places where they haven't seen much of the Yankees yet. The women cross the street if they see us on the same side with themselves, they make faces—indeed, I've been called after—and the men would be just as bad if they were not afraid to make so open a display. I was in one of the churches on the first Sunday that our company spent here, and, as there was n't any sexton, I thought I'd find a seat for myself. There was one pew a little way down nearly empty—there was one woman sitting in the end of it—so I opened the door and was going to take a seat there. But the lady rose hastily, looking very angry, and showed that she intended to leave the pew if I took a seat in it. I begged her to be seated again, as I would n't enter against her wishes, and kept on my way down the aisle. There was a chair at the end of it, standing back against the wall, and I took that. Nobody offered me a seat. The minister had seen it all, and when he saw me sitting in the aisle alone he came down from the pulpit and insisted on my going into his pew. I had to go at last, and, returning to the pulpit, he laid away his sermon, and lectured the congregation on the folly of cherishing a rebellious spirit, now that the rebellion is dead, and on the duty of showing themselves good citizens of the United States by living in peace and amity with their fellow-citizens of the North."

One of the citizens of Liberty announces himself as a candidate for a seat in Congress, and expresses opinions that, I dare say, will ensure him a strong vote in his native district:

"I shall favor and encourage the emigration and colonization of the negro population as a measure calculated, under present circumstances, to promote the interest of both races, as well as the repeal of all laws for the confiscation of the property of those who co-operated with the South in the late terrible struggle between the two sections of this country. . . . I shall oppose any law or amendment of the Constitution of the United States having a tendency to give to the negro the right of suffrage, or to so change his status as to place him upon terms of equality with the white man." He can see "no necessity for continuing in the limits of the State armed forces of the United States, and will do all he can to effect their removal."

ENGLAND.—INFANTICIDE AMONGST THE POOR.

LONDON, August 12, 1865.

ARE we better or worse than our neighbors? This is a question which all Englishmen, who think at all on such matters, cannot help asking themselves frequently, and especially at such times as the present, when the columns of our newspapers are literally crowded with the reports of atrocious domestic crimes. I am speaking now not of our public or political, but of our moral character as a nation. Now, if there is one belief firmly implanted in the British mind, it is that we are superior to continental nations in our respect for and practice of the family virtues. No doubt our faith in our general superiority is very strong. Only the other day, I happened to remark in the presence of a large company of really very well educated people that I preferred the French practice of breakfasting in the middle of the day to our own English one of early breakfasts. A lady, who certainly was not a foolish person in ordinary matters, remarked seriously she could not believe anything French was ever better than anything English; and none of the company, except myself, appeared to think the remark absurd or foolish. Thackeray remarks somewhere or other that a Frenchman always thinks it incumbent on him to assert his belief in the pre-eminence of "La France" because he is not quite certain in his own heart that the assertion is just; but that an Englishman is so absolutely confident of his own superiority, he assumes it as a recognized fact. Of course, this exaggerated self-esteem is not found to any great extent among Englishmen of the world; but even men who are very sceptical as to our transcendent merits in other respects, cherish a deep-rooted conviction that our private life is more moral and virtuous than that of other nations. Now a dispassionate observer will not, I think, disregard the weight of this testimony, interested though it may be. There is always some foundation of truth both for an individual's and a nation's estimate of his or its character; and I believe, without national vanity, that, subject to certain very grave qualifications, our opinion of our

own virtue rests on a ground-work of fact. I have lived so much of my life out of England that I am well aware there are other virtues in the world besides conjugal fidelity, and other duties besides the family affections, and therefore I do not consider that we are a wonder to gods and men because, on the whole, our educated classes supply a greater proportion of good husbands and wives, good fathers and mothers, than can be found amongst similar classes on the Continent. What may be the value of this fact I do not propose to argue; but I do believe, from considerable experience, that the fact is as I have stated it.

An objector might urge that my theory is upset by the revelations of our divorce court. My answer is, that the importance of these revelations is immensely exaggerated. In the course of a year we have, perhaps, some couple of hundred gross exposures of conjugal vice and domestic misery. It is sad enough this should be the case; but, after all, the proportion of these ill-assorted unions to the total of marriages is infinitesimally small. Having myself long passed the age at which the model citizen ought to marry, and being still a bachelor, I may safely say that I am not prejudiced in favor of matrimony. Yet I can truly say that, as a rule, the married lives of my fellow-countrymen are happy ones, and that people who judge of English life by the disclosures which take place before Sir James Wilde, the successor of the late Sir Cresswell Cresswell, are arguing from the exception to the rule. So far I can speak confidently; as to the wider question, how far this assertion is true of other than the well-to-do classes, I must speak with some hesitation. My own opinion, however, and that of those who have studied the subject far more deeply than myself, is that the English middle class down to its lowest gradation is, on the whole, a very moral one. Clerks, petty shopkeepers, and skilled mechanics are, I should say, quite as moral in their domestic relations as the higher grades of society, if not more so. The real doubt in my mind is about the working classes, especially in the agricultural districts. The habits of life amongst the rural poor are not favorable to morality, and the cost of supporting children is a burden which laboring men, who find life a hard struggle at the best, are unwilling to undergo. In parts of England I am acquainted with, the ceremony of marriage is habitually deferred amongst farm servants till the woman is far gone in pregnancy. As a rule, I should say the standard of morality was low amongst English peasant girls; but, on the other hand, the wives of the same class are commonly virtuous. In fact, in this, as in almost every grade of our society, prostitution is unusually prevalent, but adultery is unusually rare.

The consideration, how far the reputation of morality on which we pride ourselves as a nation is justified by facts, is forced upon us by the repeated instances of child-murder which have lately been brought before the public notice. The other day a mother was tried at Exeter, in company with another woman, on a charge of having murdered her illegitimate child. The suspicion against both prisoners was grave; but there was not proof enough to convict either; when the mother turned "king's evidence," and was placed in the dock as a witness against her accomplice, a Mrs. Winsor, the wife of a Devonshire laborer. The story, as she told it, was a revolting one: this Mrs. Winsor seems to have been a professional murderess, who contrived to let all the girls in the neighborhood who, according to the local phrase, had got into trouble, know that she would make away with their babies for a few shillings. The wretched girl who told the story was a maid-of-all-work, who had been seduced by a man in her own rank of life, too poor to do much for her child. In order to get rid of a burden she could ill support, she, according to her own story, availed herself of the services of Mrs. Winsor, and by her desire was present in the room while the baby was being "smothered between the mattresses." The story, strange as it was, bore the stamp of truth; and Mrs. Winsor was sentenced to death, without hope of pardon, though there is some reason to expect she may be reprieved on account of a technical irregularity in her indictment. Monsters are to be found in every country; and the remarkable feature in this case was not the atrocity of this woman's crime, but the general demoralization which, if the evidence could be credited, was shown to have prevailed in the neighborhood where she lived. By some strange law of causation, which appears to cause crime to come in batches, we have had since this Exeter trial one case of infanticide after the other occurring in different parts of the country. There being a general dearth of news, these exposures attract, perhaps, more notice than they would do otherwise; but the subject is alarming enough in itself to demand grave attention.

As usual, statistical authorities are found ready to explain that the percentage of illegitimate births and the rate of mortality amongst babies not born in wedlock are lower in England than in continental countries. But to do ourselves justice, we care very little about statistics; and the national conscience is not satisfied by learning that infanticide is more common in

China or Chili than in Great Britain. Of course, too, there is immense difference of opinion as to the extent to which the practice is carried in England; but there can, I think, be no moral doubt that amidst the needy classes of the community infanticide is what the French call a "cas prévu"—a recognized eventuality. It is much more easy, however, to acknowledge the evil than to suggest a remedy. Our present system, by which mothers are expected to be deterred from killing their children by fear of the gallows, is an utter failure. The practical good sense of the country knows so much allowance must be made for the temptations of shame, distress, and poverty, which cause ninety-nine child-murders out of a hundred, that this crime cannot justly be treated as equivalent to homicide. The consequence is, that our juries will resort to almost any quibble sooner than bring in a woman guilty of wilful murder in cases of the kind alluded to. Unquestionably a diminution of the nominal penalty for infanticide would render its punishment much more certain, and therefore more powerful as a deterrent; but then public sentiment cannot endure to admit formally that child-killing is not murder. Much in the same way, any sensible man knows that founding hospitals would do a great deal to lessen the number of children killed by their mothers. Whether this advantage would not be counterbalanced by an immense increase in the number of children deserted, is of course an open question. But the fatal objection to the proposal does not consist in its intrinsic merits or demerits, but in the fact that our public cannot tolerate the idea of encouraging the status of illegitimacy. We can never legislate about a subject which we insist on ignoring wilfully. Meanwhile, the sentimental portion of our public critics writes diatribes on the heartlessness of men, and calls for increased severity towards the seducer. The plight of a mother without a husband or protector is sad enough in all conscience, without investing it with artificial colors. As a matter of fact, seduction in the ordinary sense of the word has nothing whatever to do with infanticide in this country. Save in some very exceptional case, the fathers of the wretched little beings who are stifled or strangled by their mothers are poor working-men, who find the bastardy tax of half-a-crown a week impossible or difficult to pay. The absurdity of our system is that this fixed charge, which tells most cruelly on a man earning ten to twenty shillings a week, is a bagatelle to the wealthy profligate; but then, as the late Justice Maule once said in commenting on our fixed tariff of fines for certain offences, "it is the beauty of the law of England that it is the same for the rich and the poor."

For the present, however, nothing will be done. Every now and then we are subject to spasms of public virtue, during which society is called upon to put down immorality by imposing legal and social penalties on the men who take advantage of female frailty; but when once the spasm is over, we relapse to our normal tolerance for all male breaches of morality which do not interfere with matrimonial relations. My own belief is, the only real remedies for infanticide are of a social character. To a household servant in a respectable family, or to an unmarried woman in any employment, out of the fields or the factories, it is almost ruin to be known to have an illegitimate child. If ever there should be such a change in English feeling that the fact of being an unmarried mother should not tell against a girl's chance of getting a situation, servant-maids and shop-girls will have far less temptation to conceal the fact of pregnancy. But, as I have said before, the vast majority of English women who get rid of their children do so not from shame or fear of losing caste, but simply from the difficulty of supporting them—because, in fact, they are too poor to be mothers; and for this evil the only possible remedy lies in the increased prosperity of the working classes. Want is at the bottom of infanticide, as of almost every sin and evil in this country, and I am not sanguine enough to have much faith in political changes removing poverty. After all, the purest democratic government in the world could not supply England with your Western prairies. The presence of sordid, lifelong want amidst vast masses of our population is a fact which any honest foreign critic of England ought to bear constantly in mind, if he would judge us justly; and it is one which Americans, if you will excuse my saying so, are too apt to forget. It is a dark aspect of our social condition this on which I have touched; but my wish is in these letters to give you, as far as I can, an understanding of all questions which agitate the mind of Englishmen.

Ever since I last wrote to you, on Wednesday week, extreme anxiety has been felt with reference to the fate of the Atlantic cable. It is possible you may already have received direct tidings as to the nature of the disaster which has befallen this great international enterprise; but, up to this moment, we are altogether in the dark. That Wednesday appears to have been the crisis of the undertaking. At last the speculating public had, for the first time, begun to believe in the success of the cable; and when the news came early in the morning that some twelve hundred miles had been laid down successfully, the new shares of the Atlantic Telegraph Company were quoted

at a small premium on the Stock Exchange. Before the day was over, a telegram was forwarded from Valentia announcing that there was a loss of insulation, or, in plain English, that communication between the shore and the ship had ceased; and since that date we have received no intelligence whatever of other than a speculative kind. It seems that about the time that the accident occurred there was a magnetic storm in the atmosphere of unusual violence, and a number of letters were published in the London papers from high scientific authorities, declaring that in such a storm it was unreasonable to expect messages could possibly be forwarded by the Atlantic cable. The argument was excellent in theory, but its practical value was injured by the fact that throughout the whole of this storm the European submarine telegraphs worked without interruption. But, somehow or other, my experience has been that whatever scientific thesis anybody chooses to propound, he will always find some high authority in science to endorse it with the weight of his opinion. For a day or two the public were pacified with this explanation; but the magnetic storm spent its fury, if the observations of the Greenwich Observatory are to be believed, and still there was no renewal of communication with the *Great Eastern*. Meanwhile experiments were made, and the electricians came to the conclusion that the break had occurred exactly 1,250 miles from the shore: one authority fixed the point where the solution of continuity took place at 1,175 miles; but the former calculation appears to be the correct one. When it became evident that the accident was not of a temporary character, it was supposed the *Great Eastern* would return home at once, and it was calculated she would arrive off Valentia by Tuesday last, at the latest. Her lengthened delay, however, somewhat revived the hopes of the shareholders, as it was thought she must be trying to recover the cable and repair the flaw. Then again a despondent fit fell on the public, and there was a rumor, which of course could be traced to no reliable source, that the *Great Eastern* herself had met with some serious accident. All this, however, is mere guess-work. The only honest critic who ever wrote a life of Shakespeare, remarked that all we knew about him was that there was such a man, and that he had something to do with Stratford-on-Avon. In much the same way, all I, or anybody, can honestly say about the cable is, that we have heard nothing of it since Wednesday week.

There is, I am afraid, far less uncertainty about the approach of the cholera. It is obviously marching westwards—is encamped, if I may use the metaphor, in European Turkey, and has thrown out its outposts into Greece and Italy. In the course of a period more or less short, we must expect it in England. The best feature of the case is that the summer is far advanced, and that before next summer comes the disease, if it reaches us, must have spent its force. Still we have had all the usual atmospheric symptoms which are thought to prognosticate the approach of epidemic maladies; and already we have raging amongst our cattle a strange murrain of an unknown description. It is supposed to come from Russia, where it has almost devastated the herds of the Ukraine; and, oddly enough, like the cholera, it appears to march westwards. There is quite a panic amongst our breeders and graziers on the subject of this plague; but nobody seems yet to know what ought to be done; and while veterinary authorities are quarrelling as to whether the disease is endemic or epidemic, it is spreading rapidly.

The Queen has gone to Germany to be present at the inauguration of a memorial at Cobourg to the late Prince Consort—about the hundredth ceremony of the kind which has taken place. The public are becoming heartily weary of this perpetual glorification of a worthy but commonplace man; and the continued retirement of the Queen tells very much against her personal popularity.

OUT-OF-TOWN SUMMER LIFE.

THE impudent and amusing Sala, in his last very impudent and amusing book, which our publishers did not republish, and are supposed to have sold him by not selling, among other valuable dicta concerning us, declared that we were "a barbarous people." Sometimes he qualified the disparaging epithet by a prefix, such as "half" or "semi." Of course we repudiate with scorn the general application of the adjective, but there are occasions when a saucy traveller might use it with plausibility at least, for instance, if he had been in Washington the other day at the Harris trial, or had made a brief investigation of our fashionable watering-places. The miserable accommodations at most of the large hotels, the menagerie-like way in which the guests are crowded together at all times, as much from choice apparently as from necessity, the absurd displays of finery in the most inappropriate places, above all and through all the inevitable, irrepressible Jenkins, taking down for publication not only every man's name, but every man's horse—an uncharitable foreigner might say that all these things betokened a thin

vener of doubtful elegance, imperfectly concealing a very imperfect civilization. Not the least unpleasant feature of the whole is, that when real "swells" turn up at these caravanserais, they act as weakly and unintelligently as the rest. All their little absurdities—and a man may be a little absurd within his own four walls, it is a privilege of the individual even in countries not otherwise free—are magnified and exaggerated by the eternal publicity of their sayings and doings.

In two things there is a slight improvement within our recollection. First, free speech has got the better of the hotel-keepers. Twenty years ago the landlords had so "subventioned" the press and bullied individuals that no complaint or exposure of their misdoings could reach the general ear. But now, instead of the reporters being all on the side of the publicans, some of them are on the side of the public. Jenkins is divided against himself. Secondly, it is possible to obtain (which it was not under the old system) a slight portion of privacy, provided you have Fortunatus' purse. You may then procure a parlor to yourself by paying for a single room the hire of an Italian *palazzo* or a Parisian suite of apartments. Let these small favors be thankfully received. In all other respects, to judge from oral as well as written reports this summer, our fashionable watering-place life seems to be growing more extravagant, uncomfortable, and absurd than ever.

But you are not obliged to go to a fashionable watering-place. Of course not. If you have that purse, you can build your body a lordly pleasure-house or a "chaste cottage." You may even, with proper pains, find a mosquitoless site for it, and thus avoid improper pains. (If you take our advice, you will make sure of this first before landscape-gardening half a mountain, as an enterprising speculator has done not far from this city.) Then you may fill your house with good company, and settle yourself therein at ease for aye to dwell, defying Landlord Grabster and all his works. Or if you are a clever, agreeable, popular man, or a witty and fascinating woman, you may pay Fortunatus a visit. But this latter class is limited enough, and so is the class able to provide for it. It costs no trifling sum to keep up a country house of even very moderate pretensions, the original price of building or purchase being but a small part of the necessary outlay. For persons of moderate means who eschew the fashionable watering-place, the usual alternative is to "board in the country." Having collated the experiences of many persons who underwent this operation in various places, our astonishment has been great that they ever repeated the experiment. It is not so much that your established hours of doing everything are turned upside down, and your provender undergoes a decided change for the worse. These may be accepted as usual results of travelling or any displacement. The great annoyance is that you are obliged to make intimate associates of people with whom, most probably, you have nothing in common. The head of the house will interest himself in your biography and genealogy, and if your grandfather had a second cousin tried for forgery will be sure to find it out. Sairey Jane and Jemimar Ann will insist on sororizing with your daughters. You must either let your standard of propriety and refinement down to that of the family, or be at perpetual feud with them. To be sure, there are lucky exceptions. The land does contain poor gentlemen and ladies, sundry travellers to the contrary notwithstanding, and you may have the fortune to light on a lady in reduced circumstances keeping a country boarding-house. But it is a rare piece of good luck.

In view of these and other drawbacks, it is not surprising that many should advocate and some adopt the plan of passing the summer in town. And a single man who has his club for refuge and consolation might often do much worse. But a summer in town is very hard upon women and children. Indeed, the lord of creation has a double advantage here. If the veriest "pillar" of the club (as the French would call him) feels the brick and mortar enter into his soul and pines for a bit of "greenery," he may rush off to the Adirondacks or some still wilder region, camp out, and snap his fingers equally at Grabster Jenkins and Jemimar Ann. But camp life, like a French novel, was not made *virginibus puerisque*.

And now, if asked what remedies we have to suggest for this state of things, we candidly confess our inability to think of any. The intense heat and the very imperfect sanitary system of our cities drive pretty much every one out of town who can possibly go. Such inconveniences as are not of climatic origin, may usually be traced to some national foible. Take Jenkins, for instance. In his American development (the animal exists to some extent throughout all the tin region of the world) he is certainly a nuisance; but, nuisance or not, he has come to be a fixed "institution" of the country. Not even another civil war could rid us of him. We are as yet too excitable and sensation-loving a people to take our ease in our own inns or anywhere else, and one of our prime motives for ruralizing, like Pat's for marrying, must be to make ourselves "unasy."

THE COMPETITIVE ELEMENT IN EDUCATION.

THE summer season, with its long series of college commencements, naturally calls up before the public mind various questions connected with education. Foremost among these is the great dispute of the humanities and the positive sciences—formation *versus* information. There are others which recur less frequently, but still crop up every now and then; for instance, the possibility or desirableness of dispensing with the competitive element. Many good men and women certainly believe the suppression of all emulative stimulus both desirable and feasible. Some have said as much in print, and the idea must have been tolerably prevalent last year in Boston, or Mr. Everett would hardly have felt bound to notice it so particularly in his lectures on "University Life."

The principal ground taken by these reformers may briefly be stated thus: "Emulation is a low motive. It corrupts and poisons the minds of youth, introducing jealousies and hatreds." Mr. Everett's answer to this is the obvious one which would occur to most persons of reflection—that emulation is *not* a bad motive; that it is not to be confounded with envy any more than economy with parsimony, courage with rashness, or any virtue with its resembling vice. Also (though this he rather hints at than fully expresses) that the enlarged application of the principle would bring society to a *reductio ad absurdum* in a dozen ways; for instance, that no moral and conscientious man could become a candidate for office!

Thus far, however, the case is only half stated. Not only is competition not dangerous to the morality of youth, but it involves a valuable moral lesson. It is no small matter to know how to be beaten gracefully. It is a knowledge that cannot be acquired too soon, and which is in constant demand. Probably the most successful men, taking their whole lives through, fail in more things than they succeed in. Certainly it is the case with the majority of mankind. How frail and hot-house a virtue must that be which is only preserved till manhood by utter ignorance of the temptation which it *must* encounter at once on its entrance into active life! It is justly considered the extreme of maternal folly to refuse to contradict a child for fear of spoiling its temper; yet the banishment of emulation is advocated for a similar reason, and differs more in degree than in kind.

The argument of the anti-emulationists seems to imply the independent theory of morals as a basis, and on that basis it is thus successfully met. But should any one wish to change the venue, and admit the utilitarian theory, our answer will then be more manifold and even more complete. We may positively begin by admitting their major premise. Suppose emulation is a low motive. What then? Are we not constantly obliged to appeal to low motives? In this very matter of education, has it been found possible to dispense entirely with that very low motive, fear? The difficulty of making all students work fairly, owing to natural indolence and other causes, is such that we must call in the aid of all incentives not actually dishonest, on the one hand or cruel on the other. Besides, as the non-competition principle must in consistency also proscribe most branches of gymnastics and nearly all juvenile sports (since competition enters largely into these), it would damage pupils physically even more than intellectually. Some extremists may indeed say that no intellectual or physical development will compensate for a danger incurred by the moral nature. To such persons schools and colleges are altogether superfluous. If they only want their children to learn morality, surely they can teach them that at home. There is, however, a *quasi* system of morality which is neither independent nor utilitarian, though it sometimes pretends to be one or the other, or both. What to call it we hardly know, whether the negative, the accidental, or the ultra-subjective. It makes every man a measure of all things unto himself, has a radical dislike to any objective rule of action, and specially objects to retribution either in the sense of reward or punishment. It will admit the name of law out of deference to popular prejudice, but the sanctions of law it always dispenses with when it can. This peculiar scheme of morals, which has some prominent and easily recognized representatives among us, is the only one on which the non-emulationists can justly found their theory.

Of course, we do not mean to say that schools and colleges may not be carried out for a certain time with a certain degree of success upon the principle of suppressing competition. The permutations and combinations of circumstances are such that it is hazardous to predict impossibility of any conceivable system. Grote observes that if the Spartan polity had never existed except in philosophical treatises, no one would have admitted the possibility of its existence in fact. *A priori* reasoning would probably reject as incredible the formation of a polygamous community out of perverted Christians, had we not the living example of the Mormons before us. Large academies and small schools on the non-emulation principle have existed here and in other countries, but they have generally depended for what success they had on the character of their founders, and have not survived them.

Fourierite and Shaker communities can maintain themselves under favorable circumstances for more or less time, but this does not prove the general propriety and expediency of Fourierism or Shakerism.

NEW YORK STATE INEBRIATE ASYLUM.

THE public interest, so strong and prevalent, in the great hygienic and humane experiment which this institution was founded and endowed to realize, as a matter of course languished when a great civil war diverted the charities of the people to the sufferings incident to battle. Now that the war cloud has passed away, we know of no philanthropic object which has more stringent claims on the liberality and sympathy of our wealthy citizens and all public-spirited friends of social order. The war has vastly increased the victims of intemperance. In thousands of families the inebriate is a source of perpetual anxiety; he is a dangerous inmate, and yet an object of love; his personal safety and that of those who surround him is in constant jeopardy; he needs to be taken care of, and yet cannot be subjected to the requisite guardianship, while his fatal habit *may* be a disease capable of cure. All these and many other obvious considerations point to the necessity of a safe, healthful, convenient, and comfortable home, where the poor slave to alcoholic stimulants may be cut off from temptation, enjoy salubrious influences, build up his strength, recover his moral tone, and thus be restored to society, a useful, temperate, cheerful man. Such is the aim and object of the New York State Inebriate Asylum. It is at once protective, curative, and reformatory. The enterprise has attracted the earnest attention of physicians and humanitarians at home and abroad. It was ushered into existence under the most auspicious circumstances, and the magnificent edifice that crowns the hill near Binghamton, in the very heart of this State, is the best monument and memorial of the zeal and liberality of those who, ten years ago, began the noble work. But, as we have intimated, the war, and within a few weeks a conflagration—which half destroyed one unfinished wing of the building—have retarded the consummation of a work destined to mark a new era in the annals of science and charity. A recent visit to the institution renewed our confidence in its ultimate and absolute success. One ward being finished, the indefatigable superintendent determined to receive patients at once. Some have been inmates of the asylum for more than a year; and the result is most satisfactory. Brought to this home of the unfortunate—in many instances so shattered in nerve as to be unable to walk from the carriage to the portal—with minds weakened, and limbs quivering, and soul and body degraded—they are now vigorous, cheerful, intelligent men; their families and friends rejoice in their safety and improvement, and they acknowledge that such treatment as they have received could alone have saved them. By a judicious tonic course in the beginning, the physicians ward off the worst immediate effects of sudden abstinence from accustomed stimulants; then wholesome food, judicious exercise, air, and recreation, complete the cure. The library, bowling alley, billiard room, conservatory, chapel, and garden, each furnish enjoyable and salubrious occupation and elevating influences to the recovering body and awakening mind. Gradually the absence of temptation, the quiet and regular life, bring back health and peace of mind; and meantime those who love the unfortunate victim know and feel he is safe, well cared for, and on the road to reform and restoration.

With such objects and results, shall this great charity languish for want of financial or moral support? The establishment is but half completed; the chapel and library, the extensive grounds, the unfinished wings, can advance but slowly towards completion, unless the generous and humane expedite the process by contributing of their substance. It is a sure opportunity for the rich and liberal to connect their names honorably with a great cause and a noble monument, by finishing and endowing the chapel or the library. Meantime, it is pleasant to see how instantly the claims of the institution are recognized the moment they are understood. We noticed between six and seven hundred fruit trees and shrubs—the gift of Ellwanger & Barry, the eminent nurserymen of Rochester; other plants were sent from Mount Hope nurseries; a splendid Alderney bull and fine mare are among other recent donations; and we doubt not the institution will be the recipient of innumerable like favors, to say nothing of special endowments and bequests on the part of those who have had benign experience of its safeguards and reformations. We hope the history, aims, and system of this new, needed, and most effective charity will be examined by our wealthy and benevolent citizens. Let them visit the institution, when passing over the Erie Road; let them consult any of the trustees they know (and the board includes some of the best known and most esteemed persons in every part of the State); let them read the appeals of such men as Everett, or the late Doctors Mott and

Francis, and especially the several reports of the Secretary to the Legislature, and they will learn to estimate this institution not only as an honor to the State, but as a blessing to society and a hope for humanity.

PRE-RAPHAELITISM.

THE word printed above has for several years very much annoyed the art-loving public of New York. The customary use of it is one of the most vexatious pieces of art-slang we have. The word has a definite and a very exact meaning, but it is used as if it had twenty meanings, or were a generic term of wide application. Firstly, every odd-looking picture is called, in popular language, "Pre-Raphaelite," especially if the color is at all vivid, or the shadows of unusual sharpness or definiteness. So, secondly, is every work of art in which figures appear, if they assume attitudes less studied in appearance, or more real and less academical than usual. Thirdly, minuteness of detail, especially the careful painting or drawing of foreground objects. Fourthly, every word of criticism which is discriminating, that is, which gives praise here and censure there, with reasons for each. And if this were all, and if pictures and criticism only were so entitled, it would not be so bad. The sale of a bad picture would not be helped nor that of a good one hindered by being called a Pre-Raphaelite picture; and a sound criticism is pretty sure of a hearing and of having something like its due weight, and a foolish one is forgotten while the eyes still rest on the page, and the calling either of them by an arbitrary name will not change the reader's mind. But the unfortunate word is made a slogan, a sort of battle-cry. It is used, as we have said, generically, and in that sense cuts off discussion, removes all chance of a rational opinion being formed, prejudices the hearer of it at once for or against the work in question, and, worst of all, prejudices the hearer for or against a whole class of artists and writers on art. These convenient nicknames and christenings are so convenient for the smart talker! They save so much thought—they enable the uninformed of good memory to appear so much at his ease—they carry a gay party from end to end of a long gallery so smoothly!

It would be well to ascertain how many persons in this city know what the term Pre-Raphaelite means. There cannot be a great many, for, amid all the gossip of the drawing-rooms, chat of the picture-galleries, and smart sayings of the newspapers, we remember but two instances in which the word was appropriately used. The other instances are thousands. One popular supposition is that there are two great schools of painters—the Idealists, who feel and imagine; the Pre-Raphaelites, who see and copy. According to this, Mr. Church has been called a Pre-Raphaelite, and Mr. Palmer is called so every day; a critique on the last Academy of Design Exhibition boldly classed Mr. Griswold's work and Mr. Vedder's together as Pre-Raphaelite. Another conviction, held by people who are thought well informed, is that the Pre-Raphaelites are an American club, or rather a New York City club, who paint and write according to certain principles of their own. Accordingly we were told once, in a grave rebuke of some painter supposed to belong to this supposed club, that "no European community would endure the existence in its midst of so false a school of art." Indeed, it is quite generally supposed that the word at the head of this article is of American devising, and belongs to an American school of art. Another notion, prevailing among those who have travelled abroad, or who have once or twice visited Mr. Jarvis' gallery, is this: that the *real* Pre-Raphaelites were the painters before Raphael, and that there are certain base modern imitators who assume the same name. Thus we have heard Giotto called by the useful name in question; and we once heard a lady say, speaking of a picture by Mr. Eugene Benson, "Yes, very nice; but it is n't as good as the *real* Pre-Raphaelite pictures I used to see in Italy."

The *real* Pre-Raphaelites, our readers will agree with us in assuming, are those who invented the name and applied it to themselves—the only school of artists that ever were so self-styled. What this school was, and where located, and whence arising, we shall show. But first it should be stated that, so far as we know, there has never been a Pre-Raphaelite picture painted by any American-born artist; there has never been a Pre-Raphaelite picture in any exhibition of the Academy of Design, except on one occasion, nor elsewhere in New York at all, except in the exhibitions of British Art in 1859 and 1860. There is no modern school of art so little known in this country as this. There is no European school of art which has so few followers in this country. There is no modern school of art of such strongly marked and individual character, and so impossible to be confounded with others. There is only one painter whose work is at all known in the Eastern cities of America who has ever been under the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite school, and he has long ago ceased to show sign of this training. Whether the Pre-Raphaelite influence is a good one or not, whether we regret the fact

or not, the fact remains. American art has not as yet been influenced by that famous school, except so far as the immediate personal weight of this one or that one of its more powerful members has made itself felt.

Changes in the feeling and thought of a people come slowly, are not foreseen by the people itself, but suddenly are found to exist. The growth of a popular regard for art or literature is unseen, until it is found to have grown to strength and permanent importance. Thus the modern revival of art begins with the quieting of Europe after the wars with Napoleon; as early as 1815 there were some signs of the new feeling in England, but it was 1840 before its existence could have been plainly perceived by those who watched. By this time its value and strength were made certain. The revival of the mediæval spirit in architecture proved successful. All over Europe people began to care for their Gothic cathedrals and churches. Repairs and restorations, often the most foolish and destructive, it is true, were begun. New ecclesiastical buildings, by a sort of tacit agreement, were built in this style, particularly in the Protestant countries of Europe, the revived classic styles being abandoned to domestic and civil buildings. A course of study of mediæval decoration, and, with this, of the whole subject of ornament, began, which has since led to the happiest results. In painting, the reaction against academic laws and the disposition to study nature and paint honestly for love of nature, though less defined than the moving of the spirit in architecture, was yet clearly to be discerned, even before the year we have named. It is necessary to look at the state of the arts in Europe just before the turning point, and to feel the falseness of aim and feebleness of purpose with which architects and painters were working, with public approval, that the full importance of the change may be felt.

Our present enquiry leads us particularly to England. In England, in 1840, Turner was at the zenith of his power. English popular judgment, though strongly and cruelly pronounced against the rarest and loftiest qualities of his work, was given in favor of its truth and power. English society, while refusing to receive the whole of his message, praised him and approved of the fortune he won by pencil and graver. His contemporaries, with far less power and with but little concentration and definiteness of aim, were under the influence of the growing taste for naturalistic landscape. De Wint, David Cox, Constable, Copley Fielding, Edwin Landseer, and Clarkson Stanfield—probably the six most popular painters of the twenty years between 1830 and 1850—were all landscape painters of avowed naturalistic tendency, quite reversing, by their practice, whatever was taught by the art-writers of the time concerning the greatness of the classical landscape of Claude and his followers. And, at the same time, the course of the architectural revival was steadily pursued by a host of hard students and by an army of designers not often very graceful in design, but nearly always very much in earnest. Begun by Rickman, Willis, Blore, and A. W. Pugin, it was still but a feeble and meaningless art, this new Gothic, when their efforts ceased. But by 1850 it was proved capable of greatness, proved fit to be a complete and rounded art, subduing to itself every material and ornament of every kind.

And it is in 1850 that we first hear of the Pre-Raphaelites. We have dwelt upon the state of architecture as well as the condition of painting at the time, to illustrate the fact that the whole spirit of art was changing at the time. For it is this change in the spirit of art, and not only carefulness and truthfulness, that the new reformers represented. A few young painters formed a society which they called the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," and which was generally denoted by the well known letters "P.R.B." Among them were Dante G. Rossetti, John Everett Millais, W. Holman Hunt, Thomas Seddon, Arthur Hughes, painters, and Thomas Woolner, the sculptor. Their brotherhood was very dear to them, they mentioned it with affection; Millais worked or carved P.R.B. into a chair in one celebrated picture; Rossetti's poems pleasantly allude to it; William B. Scott, brother of the famous David Scott, and a later member of the brotherhood, wrote his loving sonnet "To the Artists called P.R.B.," Thomas Seddon's delightful letters are full of gratitude and kind thoughts of work and fellow-workmen. At one time a little journal was published called *The Germ*. It was in this that some of Dante Rossetti's poems first appeared; and in this was the first sketch of Woolner's "My Beautiful Lady," published in 1863 in book form. These poems, like their principal pictures, were full of the loftiest sentiment and pathos. It is clear that the feeling of their work was more to these men than the mechanical excellence of their work, even when they were thought to be principally devoted to faithful copying of nature. Their principles of art may be estimated from their works of art, and may briefly and not unjustly be summed up as follows:

(1.) Religious feeling was a controlling influence over all their actions. The name they chose for their school illustrates this. Had it been faithful and skilful workmanship only or chiefly that they wished to attain to, the

name would have been absurd. They looked back to Giotto, Cimabue, Perugino, Angelico; they saw that the art of these men was religious; they saw that with these men skill was secondary, thought and holiness primary; they saw that great art was only possible to artists who cared more to worship than to please the multitude, more to be right than to be praised. They thought that Raphael's influence was of great weight in changing this, and introducing the art which, however great technically, was as indifferent as the other was intense, the art which enthroned Venus beside the Madonna, and painted the legends of mythology as gladly as the scenes of sacred history. They saw that the turning point was Raphael's life and painting at Rome. And they allied themselves to their admired teachers, the early Italian painters, in feeling as well as in name.

(2.) With this came naturally a great respect for the beauty and sentiment of the Middle Ages, for chivalry and chivalric customs, for splendor of dress, ornament, and architecture. In this they were heartily at one with the new Gothic architects and archaeologists, whom they helped, and who generally sympathized with and aided them. The Christian Middle Ages, a time most interesting to all students of art, was particularly so to these passionate lovers of the spirit of early Christian art.

(3.) They were deeply in sympathy with the modern respect for quiet domestic feeling and simple incident. In this they are with the poets. Much of the best known work of this school is of the nature of Coventry Patmore's poems and Tennyson's idyls.

(4.) They were unreservedly for faithful representation of nature, and as nearly perfect representation as possible. It was thought, but probably wrongly, that they bound themselves to paint nothing except from the object. It is certainly true that their landscapes were studies of real scenes, and their figures portraits of real people. Different members of the brotherhood, however, were not equally strict in carrying out the principles which governed them all in their course as painters.

Like most important reformatory movements, and quite unlike the contemporary struggle for reform in architecture, the Pre-Raphaelite enterprise was supported by very powerful advocates. The greatest imaginative painters of England were and still are Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais, and of all modern sculptors Thos. Woolner is the most original in his general treatment of subjects. Founded by such mighty men and their diligent and devoted seconders, the new school rapidly gained power and influence over the whole art of England. The names of the confessed adherents of the cause alone make a great list, even taking those which are most salient and at once accord to the memory. We have mentioned six—Rossetti, Millais, Hunt, Seddon, Hughes, and Woolner; there follow T. C. Dobson, H. Wallis, William B. Scott, W. Dyce, John Brett, J. C. Hook, J. Wolf, J. D. Watson, F. R. Pickersgill, C. Keene, E. Byrne Jones, Calderon, and Collins. These are the names that first occur, but the list might be much longer and yet include only honorable and distinguished names. The better and truer artists who had already grown to reputation before Pre-Raphaelitism was heard of, were either influenced by the energy and power of the new men, or else were already working so well up to the limit of their powers that there could have been no change but for the worse. Such were Mulready, J. T. Lewis, William Hunt, John Gilbert, John Leech, Landseer, and Stanfield. The works of these artists would have been solitary among such pictures as filled the halls of the Royal Academy of Arts before the Pre-Raphaelite movement began. Among the pictures of the last ten years they are more at home. For Pre-Raphaelitism has gone through the first phase of its life and has entered on its second. It is hard now to distinguish and draw a line between the new school and the old. Under the strong and self-confident teaching of the reformers, the art of England has changed its nature, and to-day, in England, it is inaccurate to call any painter a Pre-Raphaelite, unless the word is used to denote a member of the original P.R.B. For between the crowd of well meaning and hard working artists and the great chief Dante Rossetti himself, there is no gulf or visible separation. Realistic, pains-taking, purposeful work is the rule with so many painters that they set the fashion. Pre-Raphaelitism as it once was exists no longer, having done its work.

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FOR

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The Table of Contents is as follows:

Compton Bonds, I.; Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship: Needle and Garden, IX.; Scientific Farming; Dr. Johns, VIII.; Natural History of the Peacock; Up the St. Johns River; A New Art Critic; The Luck of Abel Steadman; Sonnet; The Capture of Jeff. Davis; The Chimney Corner, IX.; A Visit to the Edgeworths; On a Pair of Old Shoes; Commemoration Ode; Our Militia System.

The following writers contribute to this number: Prof. J. R. LOWELL, Mrs. H. B. STOWE, GAIL HAMILTON, author of "Life in the Iron Mills," T. W. PARSONS, C. J. SPRAGUE, T. W. HIGGINSON, J. T. TROWBRIDGE, DONALD G. MITCHELL, T. B. ALDRICH, D. A. WASSON, Mrs. FARRAR, EUGENE BENSON.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS

FOR

SEPTEMBER, 1865,

IS PUBLISHED THIS DAY.

The Articles and Writers in this number are as follows:

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Literature.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE well known conservatism and adherence to established custom that forms so striking an element in English character receives marked illustration from the habits of the publishing business in London. Readers of the memoirs and diaries of Byron, Walter Scott, or Moore, will not need to be reminded of the continual reference made in them to Mr. Murray and Messrs. Longman. In plain prose or jocular rhyme these gentlemen are constantly apostrophized or animadverted on, and they have been so long near the immortals that they seem to share in their perennial youth. What was true in 1815 is now pretty exactly reproduced fifty years later in 1865, as regards the relative position of the two firms to each other and to the book trade of England. Stars have risen and set in the interval—houses have been established and dissolved. Some have made fortunes, like Mr. Colburn

and Mr. H. G. Bohn—others failures, and many important concerns flourish collaterally; but still the chief literary interest of the season concentrates around the lists of announcements put forth from Albemarle Street and Paternoster Row. Though similar in the position they maintain before the public, there are remarkable differences between the two houses. The present and third John Murray bears "no brother near his throne"—like his father and grandfather, he reigns alone, and deals in no books but those bearing his own imprint. Messrs. Longmans' firm, on the contrary, though with a hereditary backbone of "Longman" (since the first of that name came up a boy from Bristol about 130 years since), has always comprised many partners, so as to keep up a steady influx of mercantile ability. They also, besides selling their own books, do what is called here a large "jobbing business" in the publications of other houses; and since the conflagration that destroyed the stores, dating from the fire of London, in which they used to burrow, are the best lodged bookselling firm in England. Though business still seeks the channels it did fifty years since, its character has remarkably changed. Then it was poetry that offered the chief prizes of authorship and publication. The names of poets then living and writing will occur to every one. Now, as a commercial interest, it is utterly dead. Classical literature, history, biography, and travels retain about the same hold on the public that they then possessed. The departments where the greatest accession of activity is visible, and for which a new world of readers has sprung up, are natural and physical science, theological criticism, the fine arts, and prose fiction. Darwin, the naturalist, has beaten his grandfather, the poet, out of the field—practical interests prevail, even romance grows tame—and Thos. Moore, Rogers, and Campbell might sing in vain to the audience who gather round Dr. Colenso, Ruskin, and Anthony Trollope.

Mr. Murray's last list of books, announced to appear in the fall, or some more distant season, is rather a meagre one. A book that will attract notice in this country is "The Correspondence of King George III. with Lord North during the American War." Portions of these letters have appeared in Lord Brougham's "Sketches of Statesmen," but the present publication of them "from the originals in her Majesty's Library, printed by Royal permission," and edited by Mr. Bonham Donne, will be undoubtedly more complete and attractive. Dr. Livingston's "Narrative of his Exploration of the Zambesi" may be speedily looked for. Mr. Smiles' "Lives of Boulton and Watt, comprising a History of the Invention and Introduction of the Steam Engine," is promised, copiously illustrated in the elegant style of the "Lives of the Engineers," of which it will make a fourth volume. Mr. Charles Darwin's scientific work, "Domesticated Animals and Cultivated Plants, or Principles of Variation, Inheritance, Reversion, Crossing, Inter-Breeding, and Selection under Domestication," in illustration of the views he has heretofore defended, will be looked for with interest. Dr. William Smith's "Concise Dictionary of the Bible" aims at popularizing, in one volume of 1,008 pages, the results of study and investigation that fill the three ponderous royal octavos of the original work. A new series of popular books, to be called "Choice Travels," will commence with Hon. Robert Curzon's well known "Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant," and for the succeeding volumes Mr. Murray will have an ample store of material at command from the number of books of travel originally published by him in expensive forms. One series of the "Wellington Despatches" is no sooner completed by the publication of the twelfth volume—relating to the occupation of France by the allied armies under command of the Duke, and his measures for settling that kingdom—than another is announced to begin, extending from 1819 to the termination of the Wellington administration in 1830, adding probably some twenty solid octavos to the materials of the future heavily tasked historian. "Chinese Miscellanies," by Sir John Davis; "Notes on the Battle of Waterloo," by Lieut-General Shaw Kennedy; an illustrated work by L. Gruner on the "Brick and Marble Polychromatic Architecture of Italy;" a translation of Prof. von Sybel's "History of the French Revolution;" and a few others of less importance, nearly exhaust a list not rich in promise.

—The entire history of letters contains no sadder chapter than that unfolded in the "Life of John Clare," who was known some fifty years ago as the "English Burns" and the "Northamptonshire Poet." His origin was socially lower than that of Burns—he sprang from the humblest stratum of agricultural laborers. Gifted with a tremulous sensibility of the beauties of nature, and acquiring unconsciously a power of expression delicate, refined, and picturesque, that placed him high among the poets of the time, every step he took forward, every new acquisition, only added to his distresses and more deeply branded his misery. Coarse even in their kindness, the country gentry who gazed at him as a phenomenon (happily a rare one), thought he was well rewarded for his verses by a dinner with their servants in the kitchen. Would-be patrons were offended at his sensitive feeling of independence. The literary world to which he was introduced, by a kindly

notice by Gifford in the "Quarterly Review," had more admiration for him than solid reward; and at last the acute struggle for bare existence ended with his being consigned to the County Lunatic Asylum, where he remained forgotten and unvisited, even by his wife and children. The last verses he ever wrote, shortly before his death, after *twenty-two years' confinement*, were these—solemn and fitting finale to such a career:

"I am! yet what I am, who cares or knows?
My friends forsake me like a memory lost;
I am the self-consumer of my woes;
They rise and vanish, an oblivions host—
Shadows of life whose very soul is lost;
And yet I am—I live—though I am tossed

"Into the nothingness of scorn and noise,
Into the living sea of waking dream,
Where there is neither sense of life nor joys,
But the huge shipwreck of my own esteem,
And all that's dear. Even those I loved the best
Are strange—nay, they are stranger than the rest.

"I long for scenes where man has never trod,
For scenes where woman never smiled or wept,
There to abide with my creator, God,
And sleep as I in childhood sweetly slept:
Full of high thoughts unborn. So let me lie
The grass below; above, the vaulted sky."

They are given by Mr. Frederick Martin in his lately published memoir, and we see that a complete edition of Clare's Poems is announced for the benefit of his widow and children.

—Mr. Howard Staunton's "Great Schools of England" is one of the books that perform an acceptable service creditably and satisfactorily. When a gentleman figures in such diverse lines of employment as editing Shakespeare and compiling manuals and hand-books for chess-players, it throws a suspicion of "job work" on his literary undertakings; but whether just or not, and to whatever inspiration its appearance is owing, "The Great Schools of England" is a welcome addition to our stock of information. It is said, and correctly, of the English endowed school: "No original, no counterpart, no copy of it is to be found abroad, and it bears no resemblance to any foreign institution, under whatever denomination, where boys are assembled for educational purposes." At once so peculiar and so influential—so general in their broad characteristics, so varying and diversified among themselves in the special features of each—it is not surprising that curiosity should be felt respecting these establishments. Their "foundation, endowments, and discipline" are copiously described in Mr. Staunton's book. He also gives a topographical account, with drawings, of each locality, and a glimpse of the eminent masters and scholars that have been connected with each school. Though rarely visited by American tourists, there is much to reward inspection in these unique institutions. Some, as Eton and Harrow, are remarkable for beauty of site; others, as Rugby, Winchester, and Westminster, for association with eminent men. This, indeed, attaches to all of them, and is one of the most powerful links that connect the England of past days with the actual life of the present.

—The revival of metaphysical studies lately alluded to is not to proceed unmolested. A warning voice issues from Philadelphia, where Messrs. Lip, pincott announce, by an author whose family name is known to science, James Rush, M.D., a work with this trenchant title: "Brief Outline of an Analysis of the Human Intellect, intended to rectify the scholastic and vulgar perversions of the natural purpose and method of thinking, by rejecting altogether the theoretic confusion, the unmeaning arrangement, and indefinite nomenclature of the metaphysicians." This "brief outline" will form two volumes octavo. "Forewarned is forearmed," and we trust that Messrs. Mansel, Mill, Grote, etc., will be prepared for the threatened attack that is to dissipate their science into thin air. Messrs. Lippincott's list of forthcoming books contains the names of others well worthy of notice. Among them are "Inner Rome: Political, Religious, and Social," by Dr. Butler, professor of ecclesiastical history in the Divinity School, Philadelphia; "Bracton, and his relation to Roman Law," a contribution to the history of Roman law in the Middle Ages, translated by Brinton Cox from the German of Prof. Carl Guterbrock, of Königsberg; "Curious Facts in the History of Insects, including Spiders and Scorpions: a Complete Collection of the Legends, Superstitious Beliefs, and Ominous Signs connected with Insects, together with their uses in Medicine, Art, and as Food, and a Summary of their remarkable Injuries and Appearances," by Frank Cowan: this must be a curious book, more resembling some of the German collections of "Folk Lore" than anything we have in America; "The Western Orator," exemplifying popular parliamentary, forensic, and dramatic eloquence, dialogue, poetry, humor, and burlesque, by Prof. Edgerton, of Ohio State Law College.

—When the edition of his works now in preparation has appeared, James Madison will take his place on the literary shelf alongside of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Franklin, Samuel and John Adams, Clay,

Webster, and their fellows. The production of good editions is the best sign of appreciation that can be given, and any American should be proud to own the noble series of books, which may easily be brought up to over one hundred volumes in number, where lie enshrined the undying remains of the fathers of their country's greatness. As long ago as 1848, the papers of Mr. Madison were purchased by Congress from his widow for the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. It is from these papers, under the direction of the joint Library Committee of Congress, that the present impression is derived. It will contain Mr. Madison's correspondence from 1769 to 1836—his famous pamphlets, "Examination of the British Doctrines" (1806), "Political Observations" (1795), and other political essays, and also his lighter productions, as the apologue of "Jonathan and Mary Bull," his "Letter on Napoleon's Return from Elba," his "Note for the Princess" (now Queen Victoria), and his "Advice to my Country," etc. It is expected the whole will be included in four volumes octavo. There is one other work necessary to complete this political and historical series that we hope some day will see published. We allude to the papers of Albert Gallatin. From his exact and critical habits of accuracy, the copious MSS. he left cannot fail to be of great value. They are still, we believe, in the possession of his family, who have not the same motive for parting with them that have operated in many similar cases. Still, the nation is the best guardian of such material for its history, and a Congressional edition of them is a national tribute and an enduring monument of past services rendered to a grateful country.

—Unwritten chapters of the world's history crowd upon us from all quarters. The truth illustrated by Mrs. Barbauld's familiar story, "Eyes and no Eyes, or the Art of Seeing," was never better exemplified than by modern archaeological discoveries. The faculty of sight grows with the knowledge of the thing worthy of being seen, as every day's experience proves. "Lake Habitations and Pre-historic Remains of Northern and Central Italy," by Prof. Gastaldi of Turin, a translation of which forms the last published of the Anthropological Society's volumes, extends to a new field the area of the phenomena now familiar to us on the northern side of the Alps. The relics found in the turbaries that fill the dry lake-basins on the southern slope of the mountains that bound the valley of the Po resemble in general character the pile-founded villages and dwellings on the Swiss lakes, and show the prevalence in both countries of a civilization existing under similar physical conditions. In the early marl beds of Central Italy relics of man are traced as elsewhere in connection with the remains of fossil and extinct animals, while in the later deposited strata of the same composition these evidences of man's occupation continue and increase in variety and skill of workmanship, till at last they are found contemporaneously with objects that unquestionably date from the Roman era. This synchronism is a point of great interest, and has nowhere else occurred. From the north of Scotland comes a note of similar researches—Mr. Samuel Laing, M.P. for the Wick Burghs, being about to publish a work on the recently discovered "Pre-historic Remains of Caithness," including a memoir by Prof. Huxley on the skulls and other human remains. This will doubtless revive the controversy commenced with some acrimony last autumn on the question whether the ancient inhabitants of Scotland were cannibals. It may be remembered that the evidence on which Prof. Owen decided for the affirmative was the scientific skill shown in cracking the jaw-bones of some youthful crania found in Caithness, for the evident purpose of getting at the medullary deposit within. The suggestion, however, excited a storm of indignation, and Prof. Huxley's testimony will be eagerly looked for.

—The election for Westminster is scarcely over when the death is announced of the unsuccessful candidate, Mr. W. H. Smith. He was at an advanced age to seek for Parliamentary honors, being in his seventy-fourth year. The particular talent that brought fame and fortune to him was a quick apprehension of the possible bearing of the railway system of transit on the circulation of newspapers, and the foresight that the railway stations throughout the country would in future form the great markets for light and current literature. By contracts on most of the great trunk lines, he secured within his control both of these great levers of business, and was able to dictate his own terms to the *Times* and other morning papers, and to make or mar the fortune of any enterprise in cheap literature by the power of granting or refusing its admission to his railway book-stalls. He possessed great power of organization, and commanded respect from those he came in contact with. The large supplies of the *Illustrated London News*, *Punch*, etc., called for in America previous to the war, reached the distributing agents in New York through his establishment.

—By the recent death of Professor Aytoun, Scotland has lost one who did good service to the land of his nativity, and kept up the traditions of Scottish Toryism with somewhat of the old spirit displayed in its triumph-

ant days of George IV.'s reign, ere reform was. He belonged to the school of Scott, Wilson, and Lockhart, and inherited the tastes of a past generation from them. He is rather conspicuous for a general sense of cleverness (in the English sense) apparent in what he undertook, than for anything actually achieved. His "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers" so well imitate poetry that the Tory part of the nation accepted them as such. His "Firmilian, a Spasmodic Tragedy," is that tedious thing, an overdone joke. "Bothwell" is never heard of now. "Bon Gaultier's Ballads" are good specimens of parody, the lowest kind of wit. Some comic prose sketches in "Blackwood's Magazine," "The Glenmurchkin Railway," etc., have more real vitality than any other of his writings, though he failed signally as a novelist with "Norman Sinclair." The Professor was born in 1813; brought up to the Scotch bar; and in 1845 he received the appointment of professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres in the University of Edinburgh; he married the youngest daughter of Professor Wilson; in 1852 was made sheriff and vice-admiral of Orkney (which would seem to show that jobbing was not yet extinct in Scotland), and had been for some years in a failing state of health.

—The great national work in French literature, "Histoire Littéraire de la France," commenced by the Benedictines, and now being continued by a commission of the Institute which includes the names of Guizot, Daunou, Renan, etc., is being reprinted at Paris, the early volumes in particular having become very scarce. The new edition is supervised by M. Paulin Paris, and is brought out in royal octavo at twenty francs per volume. The work reaches at present the fourteenth century in 23 volumes quarto. The demand for substantial books in France is evidenced by the reprint of many other important works of the last century, the existing copies of which are insufficient to supply the demand. Among them are Ceillier's standard "Histoire des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques," in 21 volumes quarto, and the great "Acta Sanctorum," the famous collection of lives of the saints by the Bollandists, in fifty or sixty folios. Some years since copies of this work were of little more value than waste paper, but now such is the eagerness shown in mediæval studies that one if not two reprints of the entire work, also in folio, are now in progress. On a smaller scale, the same kind of demand will tend to the same results in England and America. The existing stock of English books on the early literature of the country is entirely insufficient to satisfy the constantly increasing American demand. An ample subscription list might now be got for really good and handsome reprints of Sir Egerton Brydges' "Censura Literature," "Restituta," and "British Bibliographer," the "Retrospective Review," Dibdin's "Typographical Antiquities," Ritson's various works, "The Harleian Miscellany," "Dodsley's Old Plays," etc., books that are rapidly becoming unfindable in England (where, when they were made, nothing but the small local demand was calculated on), and wanted for every American library of any pretensions. Mr. Francis's edition of John Payne Collier's "Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language," now in progress at Cambridge, is a first step in this direction, and some of our astute publishers will not be slow to follow it up.

MILL ON HAMILTON.*

THE subject of this work "is not Sir William Hamilton, but the questions which Sir William Hamilton discussed." Many of these, though originating in the school of philosophy of which Sir William Hamilton is the most eminent representative of the present generation, and though often ignored under the general designation of metaphysics by the school to which Mr. Mill belongs, are questions which he regards as important enough to justify his elaborate work. "A true psychology," he says, "is the indispensable scientific basis of morals, of politics, of the science and art of education," and "the difficulties of metaphysics lie at the root of all science." In his work on logic, and in many of his shorter essays, there is manifested the same appreciation of metaphysical studies, with which, however, he always deals warily, and he has reserved as the work of his maturest powers the complete definition and defence of his metaphysical opinions. Questions which often engage the attention and tempt the powers of immature thought Mr. Mill has reserved for his latest work, and he has thereby contributed to philosophy most important additions.

Much more space is given, it is true, to dissecting and estimating Sir William Hamilton's special opinions and characteristics than the proposed design of the work seems to warrant, but this does not diminish in the least its interest, nor in fact its positive value as an exposition of the opinions it advocates. A master in the tactics of philosophical polemics, Mr. Mill

* "An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, and of the principal Philosophical Questions discussed in his writings. By John Stuart Mill." Boston: William V. Spencer. 1865. 2 vols., pp. 330 and 354.

strikes very effective blows for his own opinions, and builds on the ruin he makes of the best accredited rival philosophy. Disciples of this philosophy may justly object, however, that the opinions they hold are not responsible for the defects of a teacher, even of so unquestionable a master as Sir William Hamilton; and his very excellences seem to us to furnish the vantage ground from which his critic makes so effective an assault on the opinions of his school. Few writers of this school present so clearly and distinctly the fundamental questions of metaphysics as Hamilton. His statements have such precision and scientific distinctness that his critic is able to exhibit even in his own words the contradictions and inconsistencies which abound in his writings.

Many of these, however, are, we think, apparent rather than real, and are explicable from the metaphysician's point of view, which Mr. Mill does not appear to us to have clearly comprehended. We willingly concede that so far as perfect candor, most patient study, and an earnest desire to ascertain Sir William Hamilton's opinions could avail, Mr. Mill's examination is all that could be desired. But something more than justice is required of a critic in matters so difficult and profound. Sympathy—a certain degree of sympathy—is essential to supply the links and concordances of thoughts, which were never reduced to a coherent system, but were scattered through the writings of many years, and stand much in need of a commentary—not by an opponent, but by an admiring and competent disciple. It is not less true of a philosophical system than of a religious creed, that to judge it competently one must first believe in it, and then, perhaps, cease to believe in it—at least lose the ardor of the disciple.

Although Mr. Mill is by no means so far removed in opinion from the school of philosophy which Hamilton represents as many of his own school are, he is none the less separated from it by that fundamental division which has maintained two great schools throughout the whole history of speculative thought; a division which is at bottom one of feeling and mental character, and one in which no love is lost. No philosopher has had the genius to arbitrate between them. Not even Mr. Mill, sagacious and just as he is, is generous enough to catch the spirit and point of view of his opponents in speculative matters.

We cannot give an adequate illustration of this defect from the topics of Mr. Mill's book without exceeding the limits of this article. It may suffice to point out one misinterpretation of Hamilton's doctrines, as we conceive them, which is fundamental, and plays an important part in the "Examination." Mr. Mill attempts to prove that the doctrine of "the relativity of human knowledge as held by Sir William Hamilton" is in direct conflict with Hamilton's doctrine of the perception of the primary qualities of matter, two doctrines on which his fame as a philosopher chiefly rests. Nothing could be more damaging to Hamilton's reputation than this criticism, if it be true. Minor defects and inconsistencies in his writings might be accounted for on grounds not dishonorable to his character as a philosopher; but if the two principal doctrines, on which he has expended so much learning and labor, are incompatible with each other, then indeed his sagacity was much at fault.

After an introduction, in which Mr. Mill sets forth the scope of his work, he discusses in the second chapter the authentic meanings of the phrase "relativity of knowledge," and the varieties of the doctrine as held by different philosophers. In its simplest form the doctrine is this, that we know only our sensations, and know not any other things save as existences which, in themselves unknown, produce sensations in us. Other things are only supposed, not known; and are only supposed as powers to produce sensations, not as reasons or inmost natures, which might explain the phenomena of sensation. They are as inmost natures inexplicable, and cannot be described in known terms, but only as the unknowable. This doctrine is fundamental in one of the two great systems of metaphysics, but can be understood in a less definite sense. If a philosopher should hold that some properties of things are not powers to produce sensations in us, but existences, which like our sensations are immediately known, he would not hold, our author thinks, to the relativity of knowledge in a perfectly definite sense. He might mean that all knowledge is a mixture of the relative and absolute kinds, but he ought not to affirm that *all* knowledge is relative.

The author then comes to the discussion of the meaning in which Hamilton taught the relativity of knowledge. Hamilton affirms the complete relativity of human knowledge, but in his doctrine of natural realism he appears to deny it. He affirms it of the secondary qualities of matter, such as colors, odors, tastes, etc., but denies it of the primary qualities, such as extension, figure, resistance, etc. The existence of matter as the cause of sensations can only be affirmed, Hamilton thinks, by being known immediately and in itself as *extended*. An extended something is immediately known, the property of extension not being a power to produce a sensation

or a group of sensations, but an existence known as immediately as our sensations are. By "immediate" Hamilton does not mean non-relative to us, but without the intervention of a representative object or sensation. The knowledge is immediate, though the thing is related to us in the act of knowledge. But Mr. Mill enquires whether this knowledge is supposed to involve more than exists in this relation; that is, whether this immediate knowledge is of anything non-relative to us. Hamilton appears to think that it is, and he therefore appears to hold that the knowledge is not wholly relative to us. Hamilton asserts in the plainest terms, says Mr. Mill, that this immediate knowledge of things "is a knowledge of somewhat in the thing ulterior to any effect on us;" but in his doctrine of the relativity of knowledge he asserts that neither matter nor mind are known in themselves as substances or subjects of the phenomena. Matter is known "only in its effects." "The existence of an unknown substance is only an inference we are compelled to make from the existence of known phenomena." In such words Hamilton lays down the doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge in an exposition which, Mr. Mills says, "would have satisfied Hartley, Brown, and even Comte." The doctrine that we know matter "only in its effects," and that "its existence is only an inference we are compelled to make" from phenomena, is the doctrine, however, says Mr. Mill, "which, under the name of cosmothetic idealism, is elsewhere the object of some of Hamilton's most cutting attacks."

We have dwelt somewhat at length on this topic, since it illustrates very completely how much a philosopher's comprehension may be limited by his creed. Even with the words before his eyes, Mr. Mill appears to have overlooked, or else rejected as trivial, a distinction of great consequence in Hamilton's philosophy—the distinction between "effects on us" and effects in general, or those relative phenomenal existences of which unknown substances, matter or mind, are the causes. In this is all the difference between Hamilton's doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, and that doctrine of cosmothetic idealism which he attacks. That a knowledge should be of effects, and yet not of effects on us, does not appear to have occurred to Mr. Mill; but this is briefly Hamilton's doctrine. Mr. Mill and Sir William Hamilton (in his metaphysics) use the words "cause and effect," however, in different senses; but Mr. Mill does not appear to be aware of this, else his chapter on Hamilton's "Theory of Causation" would, we think, have been made less severe.

The division of existences into phenomenal and real (the always becoming, the never being, and permanent real existences) is made in the school to which Hamilton belongs, irrespective of any theory of perception. This Platonic distinction is as fundamental in the older metaphysics as the simpler doctrine of relative knowledge is in Mr. Mill's, but has no reference to the distinction of subject and object in knowledge. Draw the line where we will between the ego and the non-ego; include all cognizable being in the ego, or exclude a part—whether all cognizable modes of existences are sensations and groups of sensation in us, or whether other modes of existence form a part of the phenomena of knowledge—it is in either case true that particular and passing modes of existence, not their substances, are the objects of knowledge. All that Hamilton in his "Theory of Perception" contends for is, that we have a knowledge of modes of the non-ego as immediate as our knowledge of our own sensations; that our consciousness in presentative knowledge is composed of phenomena or modes, which are referable immediately some to a substance ego and some to a non-ego; but that it is only through these phenomena that either ego or non-ego is known, and the knowledge of both is therefore relative. The subjects of phenomena are still unknown in themselves, though the primary qualities of matter be as immediately known as sensations are. The relations involved in the phenomena of knowledge are, according to Hamilton, *visi generis*, and cannot be explained, he thinks, as relations of attributes to a single subject, but they are explained to the common sense of mankind by the doctrine which Hamilton calls natural dualism. According to this, a real or immediate knowledge is no more a mode of the ego than of the non-ego, but is a phenomenon, a mode of being, by which two substances manifest themselves equally and in contrast as two substances. When Hamilton speaks of our "knowing nothing absolute, nothing existing absolutely, that is, in and for itself, and without relation to us and to our faculties," he does not contradict his doctrine of real presentationism. Though things do produce effects on us—namely, sensations—it is not these which constitute knowledge of things. Real knowledge, as a phenomenon, is the joint result of two real causes, neither of which is known in itself, but both are equally known as the necessary substrata of the phenomenal elements of knowledge. Those elements which are immediately referred to the non-ego are not "a knowledge of somewhat in the thing ulterior to any effect on us," as Mr. Mill interprets them, but at the same time they are no more modes of the self. They are

the modes of a self and a not-self in union and equipoise. When Hamilton contends that we know the primary qualities of matter as they exist in things, he does not assert that we know things in themselves—that is, the noumena or things independently of us. We only know them as independent of any affections of us. We know them by affections of themselves on the occasions of their mysterious union with us in our intuitions of them.

That this doctrine is a genuine product of the old metaphysical mode of philosophizing, and is exposed to the gravest objections, we willingly admit. It is really an attempt to explain a phenomenon by describing it in terms which imply that it is ultimate and inexplicable. Like much beside in metaphysical philosophy, this doctrine attempts to justify the common opinions and natural prejudices of the undisciplined mind, instead of attempting to account for them. Very profound in appearance, it rests on the most superficial evidence, and does not bear examination. But while we admit all this, we are unwilling that the really strong points of Hamilton's metaphysical genius should be underestimated. His theories really fit each other much better than they do the more recalcitrant facts of experience. Between this doctrine and the psychological explanations which Mr. Mill gives in Chapter XI. and the two following ones, there is a difference as important as that between the astronomical theories of Plato and those of Newton. We regard Mr. Mill's definition of substances as "the permanent possibilities of sensation," and the interpretations of the facts of consciousness which he makes in accordance with it, as among the most important contributions to psychology which have been made in modern times. The chapters devoted to his psychological theory of the belief in an external world, in matter and mind as substances, and the psychological theory of the primary qualities of matter, are the most valuable in the book, and comprise the maturest and most defensible views on these difficult subjects which have been reached.

In the chapter on Sir William Hamilton's theory of causation, Mr. Mill retorts with great effect the criticism of Hamilton on Brown, but, as we have intimated, this severity could have been spared, if instead of aiming at a polemical success our author had attempted to realize what the metaphysical idea of cause is, and what precisely Hamilton meant in his charge against Brown that "he professes to explain the phenomena of causality, but previously to explanation, evacuates the phenomenon of all that desiderates explanation." Misled, we suppose, by what must be allowed to be a very faulty account of the principle of causality, in which Hamilton gives a precise scientific explanation of the metaphysical idea of cause, while in fact the idea has only a vague unprecise import, Mr. Mill thinks that Hamilton has confounded the notion of efficient cause with that of substance, the *causa efficiens* with the *materia*, and that when Hamilton speaks of the complement of existence always remaining unchanged, and of the impossibility of conceiving any change in it, he has in mind the permanence of material substances, which, as Mr. Mill justly says, is not a necessary conception, such as the principle of causality is supposed to be. Doubtless this conception furnished Hamilton the faulty metaphor under which he describes the principle of causality, but it should have been interpreted like Plato's archetypal world—that permanent existence which is supposed necessary to account for the *changes* as well as the apparent permanences in the world of phenomena. Mr. Mill, following Brown, is quite as far from defining, in his law of causation, the metaphysical *efficiens* as he supposes Hamilton to be. His idea of cause is the scientific one, which is more properly named physical cause. It is the most general law of the successions of phenomena, and is derived from the total results of experience, whereas the principle of causality is supposed to be implied in the very beginnings and elements of experience. The law affirms that all successions are made up of invariable and unconditional sequences, but the metaphysical cause is the supposed real substratum of the unconditionality of a sequence. This principle is a genuine product of the metaphysical mode of philosophizing, and on close examination does not yield much meaning, but such as it is was Hamilton's meaning. Phenomena change. What makes them change? Not themselves. Not their regularity, which is expressed by the law of causation. "That which can produce changes must itself be permanent" is the metaphysical postulate called the principle of causality. For if it also changes, then something else must make it change, and this something else must either be permanent or the effect of some still more remote unchangeable existence. Such we conceive to be the notion of causality as held by Sir William Hamilton. Doubtless, if Mr. Mill had so comprehended it, and applied to its explanation his psychological method, he would have resolved it into a mere crudity of undisciplined thought—into anything but a necessary principle. This, however, would have been better than misunderstanding it, to the apparent detriment of his author's reputation.

In respect to one of the principal topics of Mr. Mill's book, the position of

Sir William Hamilton is quite anomalous. Though belonging to the school to which Mr. Mill is opposed, Hamilton, it is well known, agrees in one of his most important opinions with his opponents. This has caused a great quarrel in the family. The absolutists and the *quasi* absolutists among religious thinkers have found in him a formidable antagonist; but this wins for him no sympathy from his critic of the opposite school, but rather subjects him to a severer condemnation. He is discovered in his lion's skin. He is not genuinely unorthodox, but, by what appears to his critic to be a subterfuge, retreats from his position on the incognizable and inconceivable character of the infinite and the absolute, by affirming that, though these cannot be known or conceived, they may yet be believed in. "What is rejected as knowledge by Sir William Hamilton, brought back under the name of belief," is the topic of Chapter V., in which Mr. Mill disposes somewhat summarily of a distinction of great consequence with theological writers, and one which also plays so important a part in Hamilton's philosophy, that a more careful and sympathetic study of it would have saved Mr. Mill, we think, much perplexity in his interpretations of Hamilton's opinions, especially in a later chapter on the doctrine of Judgment.

"Belief without knowledge" seems to our author an absurdity, and though the antithesis and the frequent antagonism of faith and science have rendered the distinction a familiar one, it must be confessed that there are few psychological matters more difficult than the discrimination of a faculty of faith from our general faculties of knowledge. But that there is more than a simple difference of degree between knowledge and belief, even in the common acceptance of the terms, seems to us obvious. Hamilton uses the word "belief" in a somewhat technical sense, to express a simple and elementary form of consciousness, which he supposes to underlie every cognitive act, and to take part in the formation of notions as well as of judgments and reasonings. That Mr. Mill is not fully apprized of this use of the word appears when he says that, "according to Sir William Hamilton, we believe premises, but know the conclusions from them," and adds, "but if we know the theorems of Euclid, and do not know the definitions and axioms on which they rest, the word knowledge, thus singularly applied, must be taken in a merely technical sense." But really, according to Sir William Hamilton, we not only know these theorems by means of the axioms and definitions, but we also know the axioms, though in a different manner. Though proposed in the form of cognitions, they rest, he thinks, on an instinctive apprehension of certain universal facts, which may govern our actions and even our judgments without passing themselves into the distinct consciousness of knowledge. Expressed in language they may be known, but independently of this they are believed and acted on. They exist and are originally given in the form of "simple feelings or beliefs." Mr. Mill, of course, gives a different and, we think, a better account of the origin of universal truths, but this is no reason why he should not comprehend and correctly state the real opinions of his author, though it may serve to explain why he does not do so. His own opinions are so different from Hamilton's that he is very likely to mistake him.

Among the many confusions, real and apparent, which Mr. Mill finds in Hamilton's writings, the most perplexing belong to this subject. Hamilton appears to our author to propose, at a distance of exactly three pages, two different theories of judgment "without the smallest suspicion on his part that they are not one and the same." But, in reality, though Mr. Mill does not appear to be aware of it, the first of these theories is a definition of the act of judging in its simplest form the element, which, according to Hamilton, is common to all the products of the understanding or the elaborative faculty, while the second theory defines the special product called specifically a judgment, in which, in addition to the common principle of comparison, there is apprehended and expressed the relation of subject and predicate. It is this relation which, according to Hamilton, distinguishes the logical judgment from a complex concept, and not the element of belief, which, according to Mr. Mill and others, belongs only to the judgment. This difference of opinion and nomenclature occasions Mr. Mill much perplexity. His author seems to him to reach in this matter "the very crown of the self-contradictions which we have found to be sown so thickly in Sir William Hamilton's speculations. Coming from a writer of such ability, it almost makes one despair," he adds, "of one's own intellect and that of mankind, and feel as if the attainment of truth on any of the more complicated subjects of thought were impossible."

Mr. Mill makes small account, as we have said, of the distinction of knowledge and belief. They differ, he thinks, only in the degree of the conviction with which they are held, or else in the degree of simplicity and directness in the evidence on which they rest. But if we examine them through their correlative ignorance and doubt, an important difference in kind becomes apparent, at least in their psychological relations. Knowledge and

ignorance are wholly beyond the immediate influence of the will. They depend only indirectly on feelings and motives. Belief and doubt, on the other hand, involve volition and depend on feelings and motives. That which Hamilton calls belief, the simple elementary sense we have—from whatever source—of a congruence or conflict among objects and ideas, is that which governs our attention and determines our cognitive acts. Such beliefs control one another like other motives to action, so long as any conflict can arise among them, and it is only when such conflict ceases or is supposed to cease that we attain to knowledge, or suppose ourselves to have attained to it; for much which is called knowledge is only supposed, not real—is a contingent knowledge, held without any actual doubt, but not without a recognized possibility of doubt. Knowledge, then, according to this theory, is not a single simple act of our cognitive faculties, but a harmonious action of all concerned, in which no opposing motive to action exists or is operative; so that what we know, we know without consciousness of choice. In the same way we are ignorant without choice. Conflicting beliefs are not only absent, but all beliefs are absent. Conflict among our elementary beliefs or judgments of agreement and disagreement ceases in two ways, by the discipline of our cognitive objective experiences, and by the discipline of our wills in the formation of character—by submitting our thoughts to the influence of scientific studies, and by submitting them to the control of a restraining culture. Hence the antithesis of the results, science and faith.

This account of the distinction between knowledge and belief is independent of the doctrine, which Hamilton holds in common with his school, that some of our universal beliefs are original and independent of experience; and it is perfectly consistent with what we regard as the truer doctrine of the other school, namely, that there are no postulates in real science—nothing requiring to be admitted beforehand. It is a doctrine, however, associated so strongly with the *a priori* theory, that it appears to have prejudiced Mr. Mill against it.

In Mr. Mill's examination of Hamilton's review of Cousin, in spite of certain important agreements in opinion with his author, he is not disposed, as we have said, to grant him any favor. He even seems inclined to charge him with the absurdities involved in "the senseless abstractions," "the infinite," and "the absolute," and to make out as good a case as possible for those who think they attach significance to them. He goes so far as to say that though "the infinite" (what is infinite in all respects) is not merely a "fasciculus of negations," but, what is worse, a "fasciculus of contradictions," yet if in place of "the infinite" we put the idea of something infinite, Hamilton's idea collapses at once. "Something infinite is a conception, which, like most of our complex ideas, contains a negative element, but which contains positive elements also. Infinite space, for instance; is there nothing positive in that? The negative part of this conception is the absence of bounds. The positive are, the idea of space, and of space greater than any finite space. So of infinite duration; so far as it signifies 'without end' it is only known or conceived negatively; but in so far as it means time, and time longer than any given time, the conception is positive. The existence of a negative element in a conception does not make the conception itself negative, and a nonentity." True, if "infinite space" be a conception, and not a mere juxtaposition of words or incompatible ideas, then space is a positive part of it. But the question is whether the judgment, "Space is infinite," can be made, so as to bring the ideas together. Mr. Mill simply assumes that it can, and this too by a mistake of the meaning of the term "infinite," which Hamilton took much pains to guard against. He confounds the "infinite" of the metaphysician with the improper use of the word by mathematicians. In itself and with the metaphysician, this word is simply the negative of the finite; and as such is entirely incomparable with the finite in respect to magnitude or in any other respect. How does Mr. Mill know that the infinite is greater than any finite? Only by substituting for it a false representation of it. "True," he says, "we cannot have an adequate conception of space or duration as infinite, but between a conception which, though inadequate, is real, and correct as far as it goes, and the impossibility of any conception, there is a wide difference." But the conception which Mr. Mill puts forward as the "infinite" is not only inadequate, it is a false conception; arising very naturally, it is true, from an association in our minds between the indefinite and the incognizable. Very large magnitudes are the least definitely or adequately conceived, and we therefore attempt, but wrongly and confusedly, to represent infinite space by putting for it an indefinitely great extension. But this indefinitely great does not contradict or exclude the finite. "Greater than any finite" does exclude the finite, it is true, but so does "less than any finite" exclude it, and both are equally entitled to be called the infinite, yet neither of them is conceivable—neither can be judged to exist.

Mr. Mill appeals for the reality of the conception of the infinite to the results of mathematical calculations. "Considering," he says, "how many recondite laws of physical nature, afterwards verified by experience, have been arrived at by trains of mathematical reasoning, grounded on what, if Sir William Hamilton's doctrine be correct, is a non-existent conception, one would be obliged to suppose that conjuring is a highly successful mode of the investigation of nature." When we consider the reproaches which our author heaps upon Hamilton in a later chapter on the "Study of Mathematics" for his presuming to write about a subject of which he knew so little, we are tempted to respond in the same kind. Hamilton was at least fortunate in not knowing just enough of mathematics to be misled by a loose technical term, or else in knowing enough to be aware that mathematicians can afford to be careless about the etymologies and the strict connotations of the terms they employ. Mr. Mill is not given to superstitions, but if he supposes that mathematicians ever drew any conclusions in regard to physical nature involving in the premises a negation of the finite, he should look again to the works of his philosophical mathematician, Mr. De Morgan, for a correction of his error. The conclusions of the calculus are founded, not on a consideration of quantities really infinite, but of those which by the conditions of its problems may be regarded as indefinitely great—or, more correctly, incalculably great and incalculably small; and the conclusions drawn with their aid are proved to differ from the truth by incalculably small amounts—that is, by as little as we please. This is all that mathematicians have to do with the infinite, and this is just nothing at all.

Of the metaphysical infinite and absolute, and the simple feeling or belief, and the religious sentiment through which Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Mansel think these can be regarded as existing, Mr. Mill washes his hands. Rather than worship a being such as Mr. Mansel presents, of which no real conception, however inadequate, can be formed, he is ready to suffer the worst possible fate. Perhaps those among Mr. Mill's opponents who are more familiar than he with religious aesthetics, would deny the name of worship to the sentiment he is capable of feeling toward a being whose government of the world receives his unqualified support and approbation, with the sanction of "the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving."

In spite, however, of Mr. Mill's incapacity to enter into a requisite degree of sympathy with his opponent's point of view, his eminent justness of thought and feeling give his criticisms great weight and value. There is much of interest in his book which we cannot even mention in this brief notice, but we earnestly recommend the whole to our philosophical readers.

DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.*

[SECOND NOTICE.]

ABOUT half of the contents of the eighth volume of the "Works" of De Tocqueville is devoted to the history of the French Revolution, in the widest sense of this term. We find there an article on the "Social and Political State of France before and after 1789," published in English, in the "London and Westminster Review," in 1836, and now for the first time in the original French; seven chapters of an unpublished work destined to serve as a continuation of "The Ancient Régime and the Revolution," an essay "On the Marquis de Mirabeau;" another on "Turgot and his Writings;" and "Notes and Thoughts" relative to a work on the Revolution (including the Empire), the title of which the author had not yet determined upon. Scanty as these latter are, we find them the most interesting of the collection, not only on account of the surpassing greatness of the subject, but also because we see in them fragments of the thoughts of the distinguished writer on the first Revolution of France and the first Napoleon, as conceived or shaped in his logical mind, in its maturest age, when the third Revolution had passed over that country before his eyes, and Napoleon III. had established a new imperial throne on the ruins of the republic. The quantitatively little before us reflects sufficient light upon the vast subject of De Tocqueville's last studies and meditations to enable us to discern its principal features, its most striking characteristics, as viewed by an eye as well prepared for observation by study and experience and as unbiased as any that ever examined the past. In the following lines we shall try to construct those unconnected remarks and notes, some of which are no more than headings of chapters to be written, or notations of problems to be solved, into an embryo review of the French Revolution, fragmentary and devoid of details, but Tocquevillean.

The tableau opens with the taking of the Bastille—to the contemporary

* ("Œuvres complètes d'Alexis de Tocqueville." VIII. ["Complete Works of Alexis de Tocqueville." Vol. VIII.] Paris, 1865.)

witnesses the great victory of the Revolution of 1789; "to us, who see the event at a distance of seventy years, the first manifestation in history of the dictatorship of Paris, already established in popular and administrative habits: a dictatorship productive of future revolutions." The behavior of the people—a name for the first time applied to the populace—of Paris, on that occasion, so full of confusion was astonishing on account of the consistent severity with which common crime and licentiousness were banished from the stage of political commotion. It made enthusiastic observers believe that the character of the people was changed, "a mirage which appears at every revolution." Abroad the éclat of the event was immense. It was hailed as the dawn of a new era for mankind. It was not the beginning of a French, but of a European revolution. The victory of the people was complete; it produced no civil war, not because the enemies of the Revolution were not sufficiently numerous, or lacking in moral courage to struggle against it, but because there were neither men nor local administrations capable of forming centres of resistance. And then, it is in the nature of revolutions to be all-powerful and to baffle all individual influences as long as their first impulse lasts; a grand and terrible spectacle!

On the 14th of July, 1789, when the Bastille fell, the Constituent Assembly became the Government. Replacing the executive, it received deputations, addresses; it demanded the dismissal of the ministers, the reappointment of Necker; to it Marshal de Broglie reported the retirement of the army; all the bodies of the state appeared before it to render homage. All this was not novel. The history of French assemblies, estates, and parlements offered numerous precedents. What was new was the result attained. Those who looked at what passed before them without knowing the future, could not perceive the revolutionary character of the acts of the Assembly; many things now generally regarded as infallible signs of anarchy were at that time not yet known as such. But this Assembly, victorious by the people, was exceedingly feeble when it had to face it. It was elected to combat aristocracy and despotism, and its action against them was full of vigor. It had no energy at the sight of popular crimes and anarchy. The greatest popular excesses could not arouse it to do its duty. It wasted its time in debates and votes. A timid address to the people recommending moderation could not be passed in ten days. This was the great fault of the Assembly; from that day it was doomed to obey; the people of Paris became the sovereign. And yet the Assembly was then possessed of an immense moral prestige; it appeared unanimous; was strong enough to face at the same time both royalty and the people, and to preserve in its hands the direction of the Revolution. But it lacked a clear insight into the consequences of events, which only revolutionary experience could give, and that steadfastness which is acquired only from a practical familiarity with public affairs. It also lacked organization. It was entirely unlike that English Parliament which deposed James II., but solved every question itself, without or in spite of the populace. The general views of the French Assembly were just, its designs grand, its sentiments generous and exalted; it admirably united the love of liberty with love of equality; but its practical maladroitness and ignorance made all its good intentions end in a powerless, anarchical administration, and finally in a general disorganization, from which sprang the Reign of Terror. The current of the Revolution carried the Constituent Assembly, its child, one way; the latter did not try to stem that current. It is rarely given to individuals or assemblies to make violent efforts in opposite directions. The force that impels them towards one side makes them powerless on the other.

The tendency towards equality was in all minds, even in those of the privileged. The idea of universal suffrage was shared by all, being favored by the old divisions of the people, which attached inequality and inabilities to classes or estates, but knew none within these limits. With the barriers that divided the classes, all inequalities were to break down. But while the bourgeois were ardent to conquer political rights, the people of the villages gave vent to their desire for material welfare, and to their impatience of feudal burdens and restrictions, in an almost universal rising against the chateaux. The wildest anarchy prevailed all over France, fear and disorder in the National Assembly. But fear pushed all spirits in the direction of the then dominant opinions. Fear and enthusiasm combined—it is impossible to state precisely in what proportions—produced the night of August 4, when nobles, clergymen, representatives of provinces, all burning with impatience to sacrifice their respective prerogatives and privileges on the altar of a united and reconciled country, pressed, pushed, or succeeded each other around the tribune, which resembled a besieged place. The nobility and the clergy were the actors in that extraordinary scene, which is unsurpassed by anything recorded in history, and which more than anything shows the French character in full relief. "The third estate remained in the position

of a chorus, supporting the speakers by involuntary cries expressive of their emotions."

La Fayette proposed the declaration of the rights of man; Mirabeau reported on it. A fortnight of brilliant oratorical debates, characterized by a singular confusion of ideas, followed, which, however, was not fruitless, Europe listening attentively, and thus imbibing the spirit of the Revolution. But while the Assembly deliberated, the treasury was empty, Paris famished, the press frantic, the court plotting, the king wavering, the work of the constitution hardly progressing. A tempest was slowly gathering. The 5th and 6th of October saw it burst over Versailles. Only a combined effort of the victorious middle class and the Assembly could have prevented this new victory of the Parisian populace. This effort was not made, from a common fear of the court. Both the middle class and the Assembly accepted, if they did not invoke, the aid of the populace, and henceforward bore its sway. Mirabeau, who for a time during the debates on the constitution had been more conservative than his party, was now again the man of July, and again showed himself the master genius of the Revolution. Was it because he had lost the hope of leading and governing for the king, or because he was anxious for the Revolution, or carried off by the current of its passions?

However, this Constituent Assembly, now in Paris, resumed its labors, which resulted in a system of institutions unequivocally marked with the double character of liberalism and democracy. The French nobility, seeing itself suddenly deprived of all its roots in a soil where it had been planted for more than a thousand years, finding in no other class of the nation any force of resistance which it could join, and nowhere either sympathy or common interests, emigrated *en masse*. They resembled a body of officers fleeing before the fire of their soldiers, who have all turned their guns against them. This isolation condemned them, but, at the given moment, it was also their excuse.

The new political faith, preached by the Revolution, followed in the wake of the emigration, if it did not precede it. It is wonderful to observe how easily most of the European nations were persuaded to make those novel ideas, apparently French, their own. General causes had prepared them for it.

But the terror which reigned in France was a peculiar offspring of its time and place. It could nowhere else have the character it there bore. It was the product, it is true, of general causes, but which *local* causes forced beyond all limits; it was the product of the French manners, character, and habits, of French centralization, of the sudden destruction of all hierarchy. Its force lay in powerful organization, in its crushing unity. It could nowhere be imitated with success. To have set a pernicious example to other times and nations is an evil done to posterity by the Convention, which by its ravings did so much evil to the men of its time. Its triumph was made possible by particular domestic and foreign circumstances, which are generally overlooked. It will not always be enough to attempt with violence and temerity what appears impossible. "The Convention created the policy of the *impossible*, the theory of raving madness, the worship of blind temerity."

Neither could the wars of the French Revolution be imitated and victory organized accordingly. The circumstances will find no parallel. Democratic armies fought kings, when a democratic revolution was sweeping over Europe. The new world fought the old. Victory was carried by surprise; everything was novel. The spirit of the revolution marched before its martial banners. Devastated Europe aided its ravagers. The new faith, as once Islamism, swept on, ravaging and converting at the same time. Imbecile princes were broken before they knew what was passing around them. A stupefied, servile diplomacy, without unity or harmony, made futile attempts to oppose an unparalleled centralization. An equally servile strategy could as little cope with democratic boldness and impetuosity, which were, besides, revolutionary and French. The defects as well as the good qualities of the French co-operated alike in making them triumphant. Their principal constitutional defect, that concentration of power and violent amalgamation of all parties which carried them through revolution into servitude, was equally momentous in bringing about their military successes. "For the same reasons which render states unstable make them strong at a given moment. The same government which does not allow peace to bear all its fruits, and liberty quietly to establish itself, is, on a certain day, highly effective in war; and a power which wields that force has an immense advantage over all others. The same reason produced the greatness of Louis XIV. and of the Revolution." England alone was able to defend herself against the latter, "because she opposed to the French force a similar force, a centralized government and an erect nation. It is not the sea that saves her: it is her spirit, her constitution, and especially her liberty. A grand spectacle—liberty alone able to struggle against revolution."

The Revolution continued to advance, to complete its course, after the fall

of Robespierre, in spite of reaction, of the successive vanishing of illusions, of the exhaustion of the assemblies, and of the drooping of the spirit of freedom, amidst the growing preponderance of military power; but it more and more assumed a military character. The armies remained energetic when the nation ceased to be so. The war power of France survived the decline and degradation of the civil government, even when the latter had fallen into the contemptible hands of the Directory. However, it would be an error to believe that in the period following the Reign of Terror the people of France fell into a languid state of enervation. On the contrary, we learn from enlightened eye-witnesses "how far that time, amid all its incoherences, its vices, and its chaos, was superior in one point to our own. People entertained true convictions; everybody followed the one he cherished courageously and passionately, occupied with it and not with the part it made him play; and thus doing the most eccentric, the queerest, and often the most ridiculous things without any desire of appearing singular." Business affairs were frequently secondary things—ideas and intellectual enjoyments the leading objects. Never was there more true equality, founded on the power of intellect, between men of different conditions.

Abroad, France ceased to be victorious for a moment, only when the Russians, in the spring of 1799, entered the lists against it together with Austria. She had been regarded as invincible, the vanquished continent despairing of resisting her forces, and fear suppressing in the enemies of the Revolution the abhorrence and contempt with which its follies inspired them. Her first reverses changed these sentiments into an equally exaggerated feeling of exultation and contempt. Tired of French oppression, which deadened their revolutionary sympathies, the nations commenced voluntarily offering their arms to their sovereigns. However, all this was of short duration. The ridiculed Revolutionary Government reorganized its armies, crushed the Russians in Switzerland, and again carried the war into Germany. Soon after, the greatest master of war held both the civil and military power of France in his hands.

At the beginning of the Revolution its course was at every moment expected to be stopped by this man or by that. Towards its close it was not believed any more that it could be checked by anything. A double error. There are times when a giant is not strong enough to check the course of a revolution; at others, a pigmy can do it. It is not the intrinsic force of the obstacle to be conquered that must be considered, but the *ensemble* of the circumstances. In this light we must look at the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire.

The Revolution had spent its force. France was tired of convulsions and revulsions, all of which ended in a tyranny of one kind or other. It had suffered reverses in war. It despised its government, the Directory. One strong hand was desired. Even abroad, Bonaparte, who had "astonished the world before his name was known," was pointed out by thinking men as the one. He was adored by the army and the peasantry. He came and conquered. Withal, "the 18th Brumaire is one of the worst conceived and worst conducted *coups d'état* that can be imagined. It succeeded through the omnipotence of the causes which brought it about, the state of the public mind, and the disposition of the army, probably more through the first cause than the second." The part which Bonaparte personally played in its execution was ludicrously paltry. Ill-disguised republican hypocrisy marked the whole action; perjury, as usual in such cases, was not wanting. Some of the actors, however, were themselves deceived.

When Napoleon entered the Tuileries as first consul, Roederer remarked: "This abode is sad." "Like greatness," answered the other. But good fortune entered with him, "the good fortune of neutral powers that succeed long and violent revolutions. All the hatreds of parties are for them changed into toleration. They are loved not for what they do, but on account of what they prevent being done by others." Napoleon was to the Jacobins an adversary of royalist restoration; to the royalists an obstacle in the way of terrorism, should it attempt to return. The people liked his usurpation.

We shall not follow the writer into the examination of the single phases of the reign of Napoleon, as he sketched them out to himself in brief outlines and half intelligible notes. The following passages will suffice to show how he judged that extraordinary man, and how he purposed to treat the history of France under him:

"What I should like to depict, is less the facts in themselves, however surprising and grand they be, than the spirit of the facts; less the various acts in the life of Napoleon, than Napoleon himself; that singular, incomplete, but marvellous being, whom we cannot attentively observe without beholding one of the strangest and most curious spectacles that can be met with in the world.

"I should like to show what, in his prodigious enterprise, he drew from his own genius, and what facilities were offered to him by the condition of

the country and the spirit of the time; to make known how and why that indocile nation then ran, of its own accord, to meet servitude, and with what incomparable skill he discovered in the work of the most demagogical of revolutions, and how he naturally extracted from it, all that was useful to despotism.

"Speaking of his internal administration, I intend to contemplate the efforts of that almost divine intellect grossly bent on the repression of human liberty; the organization of force carried to a perfection such as only the greatest genius in the middle of the most enlightened and civilized age could conceive; the drooping movement of the intellect; the languishing of the human mind; the shrinking of souls; the disappearing of great men; an immense but flat horizon, on which, whithersoever you may turn, nothing else is to be seen but the colossal figure of the emperor himself.

"Coming to his external policy and conquests, I should try to describe that impetuous course of his across nations and realms; here, too, I should like to show how far the strange grandeur of his warlike genius was aided by the strange and eccentric grandeur of the time. What an extraordinary tableau, if it could be executed, of both human power and weakness, would be the picture of that impatient and mobile genius incessantly making and unmaking his works, incessantly tearing down and replacing the boundaries of empires, and distressing nations as well as monarchs, less by the sufferings he inflicts on them than by the eternal uncertainty in which he leaves them about what they have still to fear!

"Finally, I should like to point out by what a series of excesses and errors he hurled himself to his fall, and also to point out the trace which, in spite of his excesses and errors, he has left behind him in the world, not only as a remembrance, but as a lasting influence and action; to show what died with him and what remains. And in completing that lengthy picture, to show what is the meaning of the Empire in the French Revolution; the place which this singular act ought to occupy in that strange drama the dénouement of which is still hidden from us."

AFFIXES TO ENGLISH WORDS.*

WE can imagine a good reason for writing this book, but we can think of none so good for its publication. There was need for one on this subject, one which would treat it exhaustively and completely, which would tell us all that was known with regard to the prefixes and suffixes, which would show us the way in which the present forms of words came about—the way in which the Latin supines became English infinitives, and in which other infinitives were formed by dropping the verbal ending in whole or in part, which would teach us something more than we now can get with difficulty from various dictionaries and foreign grammars. Such a treatise we unquestionably want, and not only a treatise on this subject, but a whole grammar. Such, no doubt, was the kind of work which this author had in mind to write. But such he has not given. We take it for granted that he has not fully carried out the idea which he proposed to himself, for he certainly has not written such a book as will satisfy any person who has given ordinary thought to the subject. It is not as good as the succinct statement of the prefixes and suffixes in Bain's little English grammar, and by no means equal to the treatment of the same subject in Mätzner's larger work. Why, then, should Mr. Haldeman have published his book? The stock of poor and mediocre books is already so large that we need no additions to it. But it is one of the signs of hasty scholarship to be eager to get into print. Were Americans taught in the same thorough and careful manner as the Germans, that portion of our best intellect which will here devote itself to study, and resist the attractions of outside life, would probably produce as good fruits as any in Germany or France. We first are half-taught, and after that half-study. We lack thoroughness and completeness. But in philology we are no worse than the English. Their system of education is as vicious in this direction as our own. The making of Latin verse and the study of quantity help very little to make thorough scholars or anything more than *dilettanti*; and it is of English scholars this author has taken counsel. We augur no good to a book from its being inspected and annotated by a member of the Philological Society of London; for its chief leaders and most prolific writers have brought all its members into discredit, and, except its reprints of early English texts, we place little value on any of its lucubrations.

Mr. Haldeman's book is not critical enough for the scholar, and for the student, for whom it seems intended, it is marred by confusion, useless and false learning. Many things, indeed, might be learned here, but much wrongly, and it would require a teacher of great accuracy himself to point out and guard the learner from the numerous errors, and from making false inferences from what is right in itself, but badly stated.

Mr. Haldeman we believe to be right in the title to his book. An affix means, etymologically, something fastened to, and would therefore include syllables placed at either end of the word—both prefixes and suffixes. We

* "Affixes in their Origin and Application, exhibiting the Etymologic Structure of English Words. By S. S. Haldeman, A.M." Philadelphia: published by E. H. Butler & Co. 1855. 12mo, pp. 271.

have already two words, suffix and postfix, with the same meaning, and it would be better to agree with Mr. Haldeman's definition, and use affix in a comprehensive sense; at the same time, it must be admitted that in general an affix is equivalent to suffix only, and that there will be a slight danger of ambiguity. No such advantage, however, will justify the spelling *hybrid* for hybrid, or *altho* for although. In fact, Mr. Haldeman is a little apt to use such singularities in a very ordinary way, as if there were no doubt of their correctness.

The first thing which will be noticed in going over the lists of prefixes and suffixes which are given in this volume is that that they are not sufficiently discriminated. Those derived from the Anglo-Saxon and the Romanic originals are placed side by side, with no attempt at marked separation, except by difference of type. An alphabetical arrangement is on some accounts convenient, but neither on the whole as convenient nor as useful as two distinct lists would have been, one of the Anglo-Saxon and the other of the Romanic prefixes, with all those of similar derivation arranged under the same head, and then an index, so as to be able to turn at once to any special form. Let us look for instance at the prefix *a*. This is both Anglo-Saxon and Romanic. In Anglo-Saxon it has a variety of meanings, and is variously derived. Some of them are here stated at length, some are slurred over, and some entirely omitted. Thus the fifteenth class is called "verbal or redundant"—giving no special derivation to the prefix in this one. Among the examples are *arise*, *arouse*, *awake*, *alight*, when *a* is the O. H. Ger. *ur*, *ar*, *er*, *ir*, Goth. *us*, A.-S. *ā*, with a meaning of up, out of. Also *abide*, when *a* is the Goth. *and*, Ger. *ent*, A.-S. *and* on, as *andbidave*, *onbidave*, being the same prefix that is seen in *acknowledge*, *adread*, and *answer*. The *a* or *ae* of *acknowledge* is nowhere given, while the *an* of *answer* is considered to be Latin, and the same as *anti*. The *af* in *afright*, which is the same as the *a* in *awake*, is not given at all, or else either as from Lat. *ex*, where *afraid* is the example, or from Lat. *ad*, when the form *af* is given. Now take the Romanic prefix. We have it given thus:

"A-, AB, ABS—from. [Lat. A-, AB, ABS, from; Sanscrit APA, AP-, AVA, fur; ἀπό, ἀν-, ὑπό, ὑ-, from; Russian, Polish, Bohemian ob-; Irish as; (Aztec accidental), Irish, Gaelic a; Welsh af- (negative), o from, aw a flow; eb, wff motion from or out; ob a going from, if that is impelled; wy that proceeds from. Gothic af, abu, German ab; English af, of, a-; English of, off. Sanscrit root AB, AMB, to go, to move.]

This is a specimen of the etymological treatment of all the prefixes and suffixes. Here is a little of everything except what is wanted. What Mr. Haldeman should have given us was the Latin prefix or its meaning, with possibly a reference to the Greek and Sanskrit (though in a book of this kind rather useless), with the forms which the prefix had taken in French or Italian or any other language from which any word beginning thus might have come to us. Why give us all this display of learning, which is, to say the least, useless to a boy trying to make out the meaning or trace the origin of an English word? What does "Aztec accidental" mean? Are both Aztec and accidental compounded with the Irish *as*; or is the prefix *ab* accidental in Aztec; and if so, what is the authority for, and what the pertinence of, the statement? We only wonder that we were not given also the Finnish congener, it being well proved—to the Philological Society—that the Finnish is the great original of English.

On the prefix *ad* we are favored with another equally interesting piece of philology. It is remarkable for the juxtaposition of languages, whether rising in hierarchical order or on the footing of mere consanguinity is uncertain:

"AD, Welsh at, idd to; Ss. ADHI, A, towards, at; Fr. à; Go. at; Ang. at; Isl. ad, at. Gaelic ath- very. (Heb. ἵθ, ἵθ-) Ss. root AT to move; Welsh eth, a, what is in motion; add, s. a laying upon; idd, to, into; eto, yet, also; Gr. ἐν: yet."

The prefix *out*, A.-S. *ut*, Ger. *aus*, was originally the preposition *out* in its usual meaning, as *outpour*, then outside or outside of, as *outpost*, *outlaw*. Then it gained the idea of extending, as *outspread*; and of lasting to the end, as *outwear*; and, finally, of lasting beyond something else, or of excess, as *outlive*, *outlast*, *outdrink*. Yet from this signification Mr. Haldeman argues that *out* in such pure Anglo-Saxon words as these, is derived from the Latin *ultra*, in the same manner as *outrage*, of which there is no doubt.

Mis under the word is referred to its proper originals, though elsewhere the author evidently derives it from the Latin *mittere* to send, for he speaks of the position of the affix being changed in *mistake* and *remiss*, p. 36.

Some common prefixes are omitted, such as *forth* and *well*, which are fully as important as many given, and others are given which are in no proper sense English prefixes, or prefixes at all, as *bu* in the Greek word *bulimy*, or *nun* in enunciation, nuncupative, which is a part of a compound root. Considerable space is given to examples of prefixes of single letters, such as *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *gr*, *pe*, etc., but very little attention is paid to their

explanation. All these, we think, are hardly to be regarded as prefixes in the usual sense; they are rather modifications of the root, and it is very difficult to trace their origin or their signification. Some of the cases given are, without doubt, instances of such altered roots; others and most are doubtful. We always understand a prefix to be the remnant of some word, and thus a word with a prefix is really a compound word; but these words which are formed by adding another letter to the root, undergo no change different from those that have a vowel in the root changed, or some intermediate letter altered. Nor are *d* in *dicere* and *docere* and *t* in *teach* prefixes, but an integral part of the root. A specimen of these so-called prefixes can be seen under the letter *m*.

"Welsh *my*—that is, that is in agency; *ma*, what is produced; *mw*, that is forward or about. . . . W. *mus* (from *mw* that is forward, and *ws* that is impulsive), that starts out, an effluvium, hence *mu-s-k* and *mu-s-tard*, *tardd*, *issue*."

The probability of these derivations is apparent to any one who remembers that long before the perfume was ever known to Welsh or Celts, there was a Latin *muscus*, a Greek *μύσχος*, an Arabic *musk*, and a Sanskrit *mushka*; and that we can trace *mustard* through the French, Italian, and all the Romanic languages, till we come to the Latin *mustum*.

We have no space to enter into a detailed examination of the suffixes, and merely call attention to the very indiscriminating and unsatisfactory treatment of *out*, *ew*, *er*, and that *old*, as seen in threshold and cuckold, is omitted as well as numerous others. We also say to Mr. Haldeman, that whatever *barren* may be from, it certainly is not the A.-S. *unberende*, and is not a present participle.

At the end of the book are some examples of the analysis of words, where the author's partiality for the Welsh appears very plainly. Witness especially the labored derivation of *buckler* from *bug*, a scarecrow, and *cledr*, a board—a board which shelters from scarecrows. Mr. Haldeman ought to pay a little more attention to French and Latin before he writes again.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

AMERICAN SCHOOL QUARTO GEOGRAPHY. By J. H. Colton. Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co., New York.

A TREATISE ON MILITARY SURGERY AND HYGIENE. By Frank Hastings Hamilton, M.D. Baillière Brothers, New York.

THE HERO'S OWN STORY. General Sherman's Official Account of his Great March through Georgia and the Carolinas, etc., etc. Bunce & Huntington, New York.

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FINANCIAL REVIEW.

SATURDAY, A.M.

THERE is a sudden fall of 2 per cent. in the value of money employed by the brokers this week, as compared with the previous fortnight or three weeks. The rate on call is now more generally 5 per cent. on large temporary balances left with the brokers than any higher rate. Business paper is also salable at lower rates, say 6 to 8 per cent. per annum for prime names, in place of 7½ to 10 per cent. early in the month. The cause of this change is traceable in a good measure to the explosion of the gold and stock gambling operations of young Ketchum and other desperate operators like Mumford, last week. Their loans on gold have been liquidated, and such loans have become unpopular; so that the gold arena is tamer than for many months past, and although the Custom House has absorbed about three millions for duties this week, the price has scarcely varied one-half of 1 per cent. Part of this steadiness, in the face of an unusually heavy customs demand, is due to the circumstance that the Government continues to sell a portion of its surplus, the Treasury having no other use for it, beyond about four millions of September gold interest, until November.

There is a supply of \$960,000 of California gold, mostly in bar gold, suitable for export, this week, and our steamers to-day will take nearly this amount to Europe. The exports of produce for the week are \$3,300,000; the imports of dry goods, \$2,010,000; and of general foreign merchandise (not yet made up), probably over \$3,000,000. Exchange, notwithstanding these free importations and very active sales making by the importers, is scarcely so firm as this day week.

Business is remarkably active and prosperous among nearly all the merchant classes. The importers and jobbers of foreign dry goods are fully employed; the domestic commission houses are selling heavily of cotton and woollen goods of the New England and other mills; the receipts of cotton are 21,000 bales, and the outward trade by coast steamers to New Orleans and other Southern ports on the increase. The receipts of bread-stuffs by canal are somewhat irregular, which is to be regretted in view of better orders from England for grain and flour. The harvest weather in Great Britain generally is reported unfavorable, and the potato crop in Ireland not so good as promised earlier in the season.

The estimates of the old cotton in the South when the war ceased are still the subject of much controversy, but the accumulation of the stocks of cotton, here and at New Orleans and Mobile, about two hundred

thousand bales at the three ports, is against the low estimates indulged early in July. The new crop is estimated at from 600,000 to 800,000 bales. Prices are steady in this market, however, as, in addition to a fair export demand, the New England mills are again increasing their supplies.

The affairs of Ketchum, Son & Co., promise to liquidate about 70 cents on the dollar of their indebtedness; the affairs of their broker, Mr. Graham, about 40 cents. The sum of \$50,000 which Mumford attempted to secrete from his defrauded creditors, has been brought to light, and ordered by the courts into one of the trust companies to await the litigation of his creditors. This is equal to about 25 or 30 cents on the dollar of his deficiencies. No other difficulties have occurred to the brokers, and their losses in the instances above referred to will scarcely exceed \$250,000, distributed among ten or fifteen sufferers.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES.

The U. S. 5-20s of the original issue have advanced from 106½ to 106½ to 106½ to 106½ per cent. The new issue, not so scarce on the Street, remain steady, closing at 104½ to 104½ per cent. The 6 per cents of 1881 are the same as last week, 106½ to 107 per cent. The 10-40 5 per cents have advanced from 97 to 98 per cent., owing to the close approach of the 1st September dividend, which, with gold at 143½ to 144 per cent., will give \$3 60 currency to each 2½ per cent. gold coupon. The 7.30 currency loans are all in request, at 99½ to 99½ per cent. and accrued interest. The certificates of indebtedness have advanced to 98½ per cent.

STATE SECURITIES.

Tennessees are 72½ per cent., including 27½ per cent. arrearage of interest. Missouri, 71 to 72 per cent. The War Department has directed General Thomas to surrender all the Tennessee railroads to the charge of their owners, but with the condition that no dividends shall be paid on their capital until all the arrearages of interest on the State of Tennessee bonds and on mortgage bonds endorsed by the State, originally issued for the construction of these roads, are paid up.

RAILWAY SECURITIES.

There is no important change in railway bonds. The shares have generally advanced on a rumored upward speculation at the gold exchange, which is favored by cheap money and the position, as a leader in Erie, of one of the wealthiest speculators on the Street. Erie has advanced from 82½ to 87; Central, 91 to 92½; Reading, 102½ to 105½; Michigan Southern, 62½ to 63½; Pittsburg, 66½ to 70½; North-west, steady at 27½; North-west Preferred, 61 to 62½; Fort Wayne, 94 to 95½; Rock Island, 105½ to 106½. The market steady at the close of the week.

MISCELLANEOUS SHARES.

The bank stocks have recovered from the decline of last week. The Fourth National makes a dividend of 4 per cent. (half yearly) for September, notwithstanding some loss by Ketchum. The Pacific Mail Company have made the usual quarterly cash dividend of 5 per cent., and an extra dividend in scrip of 25 per cent. Atlantic Mail has further recovered to 150; Canton, Cumberland, and Quicksilver are 1 to 2 per cent. higher than last week.

GOLD AND EXCHANGE.

Bills on London, 109½ to 109½ for gold. The price of gold, 143½.

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